University of Alberta

A comparative socio-economic analysis of the Metis Settlements of Alberta

by

Melinda Mills ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1996

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ISBN 0-612-18171-5

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Year this Degree Granted: 1996

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SEPT 23/1996.

dedicated
to the memory of
Leroy,
who kept the coyotes at bay
for 18 years

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative socio-economic analysis of selected demographic characteristics of the Metis Settlements of Alberta. Differences in population distribution, education, labour force and income are examined to compare the socio-economic conditions of the Settlements with their provincial and national counterparts. A central conclusion of this work is that persons living on the Metis Settlements in Alberta have a significantly lower standard of living than persons who reside in other parts of Alberta and Canada. To unify the main ideas of this analysis, a theoretical synthesis is presented for scholars interested in pursuing this topic in subsequent research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

A heartfelt thank you to the people of the Metis Settlements of Alberta, the Metis Settlements General Council, and especially, Belva Cardinal.

Thanks also go to Kerri Calvert, an unfailing information source and friend. Also, Cliff Kinzel, Dave Odynak, Fran Russell, Kelly McGuirk, Donna Wong and all of the great people at the Population Research Laboratory.

This thesis could not have been possible without the patience and expertise of Dr. Frank Trovato, Dr. Harvey Krahn and Dr. Tom Pocklington.

A special thank you to Harvey who served as a mentor throughout this project.

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I. Introduction

No thorough and recent studies of the socio-economic conditions of people living on the Metis Settlements in Alberta currently exist. In fact, as Peters, Rosenberg and Halseth (1991) remark: "There are few sources of information about the socio-economic characteristics of the Metis in any part of Canada" (1991: 25). The demographic aspects of population distribution, education, labour force and income characteristics for Metis settlement residents in Alberta have not been substantively investigated nor compared with other non-Native populations. Although studies in Alberta and other provinces often include socio-economic aspects of the Metis people, few investigations focus in any detail on the Metis people themselves. The majority of research on current socio-economic conditions exists mostly for status or on-reserve Natives. This situates the Metis, therefore, as a generally obscure and underdeveloped group within Canadian society. It is vital that Canadians know more about this distinct group.

This work is unique in that it is based on a rare and methodologically sound census conducted by and within the Metis Settlements of Alberta. It provides an up to date account of the social demographic aspects of this group and answers the oft repeated phrase: 'Who are the Metis?.' Now, at least in some way, by exploring selected demographic characteristics we can open a window into the lives of Metis settlement dwellers in Alberta. It is the hope that this effort to present the socio-economic lives of the Metis settlement residents will aid in catapulting their presence from 'The Forgotten People' to real people, living real lives, often in difficult conditions. In essence, these are people who simply cannot be forgotten anymore.

This study is a *descriptive review* of selected demographic characteristics of the Metis Settlements located within the province of Alberta in Canada. The main intent of this work is to *present* and *describe* the socio-economic conditions of the Metis settlements, not to explain why they exist nor to provide a prescriptive solution. But, clearly the findings themselves do not exist in isolation. There are a broad array of sociological, economic, historical and cultural explanations that may be determinants of the current conditions on the settlements. The discussion with respect to determinants of socio-economic conditions are, therefore, brought in solely as supplementary points to augment understanding. By virtue of this, these explanations are secondary and by no means exhaustive.

The data describing the Metis Settlements are taken from a Census initiated by the Metis Settlements General Council and conducted in June 1995 by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta with this author as the Research Manager. Population distribution, education, labour force and income characteristics are the main focus of this endeavor. In an attempt to locate the aforementioned demographic and socio-economic conditions within a current context, the Metis Settlements are often compared with the province of Alberta or the country of Canada as a whole. To place the current conditions within an historical context, this thesis also provides a *brief history of the evolution of the Metis Settlements* themselves. This is followed by a *discussion of the methodology* used during the 1995 Metis Settlements Census in order to justify the comparison of the Metis Settlements data with that of Statistics Canada classifications as well as highlight enhancements made to the questionnaire that produce some practical and unique data. After chronicling the *population distribution, education, labour force and income characteristics* of the Metis Settlements in comparison with Alberta or Canada, the thesis concludes with a discussion of the broader consequences that arise from these comparisons.

Although I will attempt to frame the demographic circumstances of the Metis Settlements in the most objective way, I fear that I, as many others, am a victim of my own cultural and academic bias. This is illustrated by the fact that I am examining only the Western-European ideals of education, employment and income as determinants of socio-economic well-being. By doing this, I exert my own reality and exclude other aspects such as informal sources of income or education. This claim serves as an overt realization and, perhaps, a caution of my perspective. Although the census integrated alternative forms of evaluation such as non-formal education and traditional skills, the discussion still exists within a strict, mainstream quantitative format. An advantage of this is that the Metis Settlements Census results can be compared directly and confidently with Statistics Canada data for Alberta and Canada. It is also important to note that when these descriptive comparisons of the Metis Settlements are made alongside the population of the same province or country it can generate some extremely interesting and useful information.

The knowledge produced in this study can be useful for the evaluation of current conditions that have been perpetuated under provincial and federal government jurisdiction of the Settlements. This work is also important for future planning in light of the impending move of the Metis Settlements of Alberta to gain self-government and within the general context of Aboriginal self-government and land claims. It is exploratory research that is not only timely, but of practical importance at this juncture in the history of Metis Settlements of Alberta.

II. The Metis Settlements of Alberta

1. The Metis people

The word 'Metis' is derived from the French phrase meaning 'simply mixed' or 'mixed blood'. According to Redbird (1980), the Metis people originated in the mid-1600's "nine months from the time the first white man set foot in North America" (Redbird, 1980:1). The mark of nine months should signify to the reader that these individuals are the result of a union between First Nations, or Native people, and those of European ancestry. Their European roots were often French or Scottish, with the former frequently denoted as 'Metis' and the later termed 'Halfbreeds'. Just as the term 'Indian' has fallen out of favour and indeed, by some is even seen as a racial slur, the term 'Halfbreed' possesses similar connotations. For this reason, the term Metis will be used throughout this investigation with the term halfbreed used only in original quotations taken from historical writings. The Metis individuals who are focused upon in this analysis are exclusively those persons who are resident members on one of the eight Metis Settlements in Alberta. The comparisons do not take into account all Metis status persons living in the province of Alberta or elsewhere. It is critical that the reader has a clear vision of which persons the Metis sample represents before the we consider the data. For that reason, I will outline a description of the Metis Settlements membership and residency classifications.

2. The Metis Settlements: Membership and Residency

The membership and residency status categories for the Metis Settlements of Alberta may at the outset, appear confusing and complex to the uninitiated. Since these distinctions are relevant to the statistics presented in this thesis, it is necessary to review 'who' the numbers represent. For the interested and the adventurous, a detailed description of the various Metis membership and residency status categories used while conducting the 1995 Metis Settlements Census is listed in detail in *Appendix I: Metis Settlements Census Membership and Residency Categories.*

According to the 1991 Census of Canada, there are 75,510 persons in Canada who report that they are Metis. Almost one-third of those persons, or 20,485, live in the province of Alberta (Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 93-315, 1993: 24-25). This discussion, however, focuses exclusively on those 4,976 Metis people who are both *members or dependents of members*[1] and are *residents* of one of the eight Metis Settlements of Alberta. When the demographic facts referring to the Metis category are reported in this thesis, these numbers represent resident members and their dependents of the Settlements within Alberta. They **do not** include persons who are: a) living on a Settlement, but are non-members (e.g., visitor, health worker, nun), b) are considered Metis but are not members of the Settlements nor reside on the Settlements, c) are members of the Settlements who are not permanently residing there or have at one point resided on a Settlement, d) have at any time been listed on the membership registry but do not reside on a Settlement, or e) are on a leave of absence (official or unofficial or children of members on a leave of absence) from a Settlement for reasons such as school, work, or institutionalization.[2]

---

[1] Dependents include children and spouses of members. *Spouses* are considered those who are legally married AND those who are living in a common law relationship. Non-Metis, non-member spouses (either male or female) of members were included in the count. These non-Metis spouses are not on the Settlement Membership Registry and are not eligible for membership. *Children* of Metis members are officially eligible to become members of the Metis Settlements at the age of 18 years. At this time they must apply for membership. To account for those individuals who were late in applying or were awaiting official recognition of their membership, we included a category on the questionnaire called: "non-member, but eligible for membership". Since most of the persons in this category were in the age cohort of 18-25 (and it was a small number) and after consultation with the Metis Settlements General Council, we decided to include these individuals into the membership category. The General Council also noted that with one or two minor exceptions, all of these individuals would eventually be granted membership. Finally, there were 29 individuals where no information on age or

The reason for this judgment is that not only is the information difficult to obtain (and often unreliable) for the above categories, but that this choice provides a single coherent picture of the Metis Settlement Communities themselves. To further support this decision, consider the case of a researcher who is studying a certain city or town. This researcher would certainly not attempt to properly enumerate every individual who has ever lived in the community or is currently residing away from that area . Or, consider a political party conducting a demographic analysis of its members. The party could not confidently or exclusively use its membership list to gain a current picture of its members. Often some of their members on the list may be for example, deceased, switched political allegiance or are no longer accessible. For

---

sex was provided to the enumerators. Since virtually all of the individual level tables in this thesis are broken down by age and sex, these 29 individuals are also excluded from the data analyses.

[2] A total of 67 Settlement residents who were not eligible for membership (e.g., shopkeepers, nuns) were enumerated. Enumerators had been instructed to collect only minimal amount of information from such individuals. Hence these 67 people are also not included in the individual-level data analysis. However, for the household-level data (e.g., such as number of persons per house), the few households containing these residents are included in the calculations.

this reason, this study is an effective investigation of resident members and their dependents of the Metis Settlement communities, not of all Metis residing in Alberta.

Another concern that may be raised by the reader is the fact that I am evaluating the eight Settlements as a whole and not describing the differences between each Settlement. These differences among the Settlements are reflected, for example, in the population numbers, presence of natural resources, diversified types of leadership, geographic location and proximity to educational institutions and labour market opportunities. While there are distinct regional differences between the Settlements, a comparison between the eight, along with that of Alberta and Canada, would prove to be unmanageable and is not the foremost curiosity of this researcher.[3]

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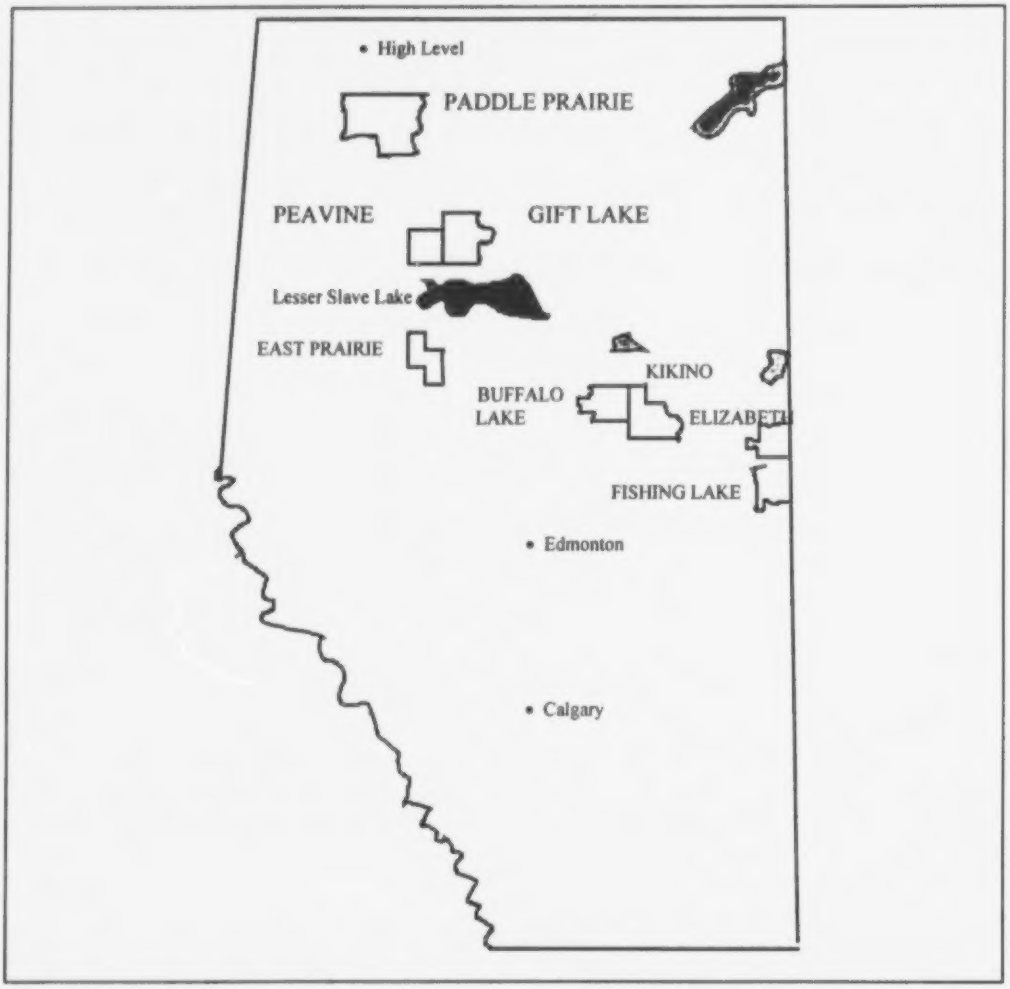
[3] Report II: Settlement Profiles (Sept. 15, 1995, 240 pp.- unpublished), by Melinda Mills and Harvey Krahn, submitted to the Metis Settlements General Council analyzes the entire information base of the census for *each* Settlement such as age/sex, language, disability, marital status, educational activity and credentials, labour force activity, occupation, industry, seasonally of employment, source of income, individual and household income characteristics, and dwelling characteristics. However, it should be noted that this report, along with the two other reports are the sole property of the Metis Settlements General Council and are available only by contacting the General Council. The General Council reserves the right to maintain the confidentiality of these reports along with the data itself.

3. Geographic location

Figure 1. The Metis Settlements of Alberta


High Level
PADDLE PRAIRIE
PEAVINE
GIFT LAKE
Lesser Slave Lake
EAST PRAIRIE
KIKINO
BUFFALO LAKE
ELIZABE
FISHING LAKE
Edmonton
Calgary

As of 1996, there are a total of eight Metis Settlements in the province of Alberta. The combined total area of the Settlement land is 1.25 million acres (Bell, 1994:6). The Settlements stretch across Northern Alberta from the Eastern border south of Bonnyville and Cold Lake to an area south of High Level. As Figure 1 indicates, six of the eight Settlements are adjacent to one another.[4]

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[4] The map in Figure 1 has been created by the author to depict only the approximate location of the Metis settlements of Alberta. It should not be taken as a precise scale or location, rather for illustrative

4. A history of the Metis Settlements of Alberta

In order to contextualize the current conditions that exist on the Metis Settlements in Alberta, it is necessary to understand the genesis of their evolution. An excellent discussion of the birth of the Alberta Settlements can be found in Purich (1988). Much of the accounts to follow are derived from that work and supplemented from Bell (1994) and various other sources. With the objective of brevity, I have opted to present the history of the Settlements in point form. This simplifies the often complex events, but provides the reader with a reasonable overview of the occurrences and their relevance for today.

late 1800s	Some Metis were offered *treaty status* if they lived among and were accepted by the local Indian communities. Others were offered the soon contentious *'scrip'* redeemable for land or money. The federal government continued to issue scrip to the Metis in Alberta until 1921 (Bell, 1994:4).
early 1890s	*"A Philanthropic Plan to Redeem the Half-breeds of Manitoba and the North West Territories"*, was devised by Father Albert Lacombe to build a farming colony for the Metis. Each family would be given a lifetime grant of 80 acres, seed and implements and a church and school was to be built. The title for the land would be held under the Oblate Fathers (Purich, 1988:130-31).
1895	The *formation of St. Paul des Metis*. The federal government granted the Oblate Fathers a twenty-one year lease of four townships of land in Northeastern Alberta. The Canadian Pacific Railway offered free transportation for Metis people moving to the Settlement (Purich, 1988:132).

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purposes only. For more detailed maps of each individual settlement, refer to Bell (1994). For a precise map of the province showing the location of each settlement refer to: Alberta Native Affairs. Metis Settlements and Metis Nation of Alberta Association Regional Zones, 1992. Produced by the Provincial Mapping Section, Land Information Services Division, 1992

Jan. 1905	The Oblates worked towards *closing St. Paul des Metis* after a four-storey boarding school was deliberately incinerated by some of the students (Purich, 1988:132).
early 1909	The *land of St. Paul des Metis was opened to homesteading* and only a small number of Metis were permitted to stay. Some dispossessed Metis *moved to the Fishing Lake* area to squat on unoccupied Crown lands (Purich, 1988:132-33).
1930s	During this time of economic depression, *pressure to move was put on the squatters on the Fishing Lake land* (Purich, 1988:136).
1930	Joe Dion, a local teacher attended a local Metis meeting and invited a local Member of the Legislative Assembly to visit the Metis and listen to their concerns (Purich, 1988:136).
1931	Dion organized over 500 Metis to *petition the Provincial government* and the UFA (United Farmers of Alberta, then in power) for land and improved living conditions (Purich, 1988:137).
March 1932	*Official recognition and the first questionnaire* to be distributed to the Metis. The Metis passed a resolution demanding land and sent it to the government who responded by circulating a questionnaire regarding scrip, homesteading, the kind of machinery and livestock they owned and their views on farming. As with the 1995 Metis Settlements Census, the Metis people distributed and collected the questionnaires (Purich, 1988:137).
Dec. 28, 1932	*"L'Association des Metis d'Alberta et des Territories du Nord Ouest",*, later known as the Metis Association of Alberta was established at the convention held in St. Albert, Alberta. Resolutions included: the establishment of Metis Settlements with land to be held in the name of the Crown for the benefit of the Metis, and; that the Settlements were to be run by local councils with the provincial associations executive council to be the governing body of all Settlements (Purich, 1988:137).
Feb. 1933	*Motion passed in Alberta legislature to aid in the betterment of the Metis conditions.* Little practical change occurred in spite of this (Purich, 1988:138).
Fall 1933	Malcolm Norris, Vice President and Joe Dion, President of the Metis Association of Alberta, met with acting Premier of Alberta, the Mines and Lands Minister and a suggestion was made to *set aside land reserves for the Metis* (Purich, 1988:138).

Winter 1934	The *legislature passed yet another resolution calling for a public inquiry into the Metis situation* (Purich, 1988:139).
July 17, 1934	The government announced the *establishment of a Royal Commission* and appointed Judge Albert Ewing (chairman), Dr. Edward Braithwaite and James Douglas. During the hearings, Malcolm Norris (VP) and Jim Brady (Secretary Treasurer) of the Metis Association of Alberta, argued that Settlements should be set aside for the Metis in which the Metis could exercise self-government (Purich, 1988:139).
Feb. 1936	The *report by the Ewing Commission* concluded that the Metis were destitute and incapable of managing their own affairs. The tone of the report was paternalistic and recommended a government-run welfare scheme designed to turn the Metis into farmers (Bell, 1994:5 and Purich, 1988:141).
1936	The Social Credit government came into power and *implemented the Ewing Commission's recommendations* (Purich, 1988:142).
1938	*"The Metis Population Betterment Act,"* later termed the "Metis Betterment Act" was passed by the government. The government was given responsibility for the economic and social development of the Settlements and was advised to work cooperatively with the Settlements. The Lieutenant Governor in Council had the power to enact regulations concerning hunting and trapping rights on the Settlement lands and provided a framework for a limited Settlement Association. These associations were permitted to establish their own constitutions allowing conditions for: "membership, elections, board meetings and other details of managing the Settlement associations" (Bell, 1994:6).
1940	The *Settlements provided an elected 3 person advisory board to offer recommendations to the government*. Regardless, Bell (1994) notes that the government retained significant regulatory powers "including the right to set conditions for occupation, use and development of settlement lands, and disposition of timber. This resulted in increased control by the government and increased Metis dependency on bureaucratic processes" (Bell, 1994: 6 and Purich, 1988:143-44).
1940-41	The *Touchwood/Siebert and Marlboro Settlements were dissolved* (Purich, 1988:146).
1942	Hourie (1991) notes that at this time the government "decided arbitrarily to remove some 663 people from Alberta treaty lists on the

grounds that they were really Metis who had entered treaty in the previous thirty years" (1991:135). After the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 89 persons were re-admitted and the others remained retroactive non-Aboriginal persons.

1943 A cabinet order *created a Metis Population Betterment Trust Account* to be controlled by the Ministry of Welfare (Purich, 1988:145).

1952 *Ammendment to the Metis Betterment Act* required that the majority of the Metis representative (including the Chairman) be appointed by the local government supervisor of the Settlement. Many other decisions were also made by the supervisor, such as budgets, road construction, building and land allotment (Bell, 1994:6-7 and Purich, 1988:145).

1960 *Closure of the Wolf Lake Colony.* Residents were moved to other colonies as the Settlement bordered on the newly planned Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range. The *Cold Lake Settlement was also dissolved* with the reason given that it was uninhabited (Purich, 1988:146, Bell, 1994:7).

1969 The *Settlements sued the government* alleging that the government had wrongly deposited $6 million from the sale of oil and gas on settlements lands into the provincial treasury instead of into the Metis Betterment Trust Fund. This first lawsuit was dismissed on a procedural point (Purich, 1988: 148). Bell (1994) notes that this disturbing procedural point was the fact that: "[t]he associations, or any member thereof only had capacity to sue if permission was obtained from the Minister" (Bell, 1994: 9).

1972 *"The Report of the Metis Task Force Upon the Metis Betterment Act"* noted the distinct failure of the betterment scheme. It called for extensive negotiations between the government and the people of the settlements with the main objective to establish an autonomous form of self-government for the settlements (Purich, 1988:148). Bell (1994) lists the four main objectives of the task force:

1. Community development belongs to the people;
2. The community needs ready access to resources;
3. Pilot undertakings should be employed to initiate the movement toward local self-government; and,
4. Community development must begin with the culture and value system of the people and move forward from there.

(Bell, 1994:7).

I listed these objectives to represent both the key issues of the time, but also to illustrate that more than twenty years later, these points are still being forged.

1974 The aforementioned *lawsuit of 1969 was renewed.* (This lawsuit was not resolved until 1991) (Purich, 1988:148).

1979 *Staff from the Social Services Department, on instructions from the Crown Counsel, raided six settlement offices and seized files* pertaining to the lawsuit. A complaint was lodged to the Alberta ombudsman who concluded that the manner in which the files were seized was regrettable and morally wrong. He recommended that the department apologize to the settlements and called for a change in the government-settlement relationship and moved for a quick resolution to the oil and gas litigation suit (Purich, 1988: 149).

1980 *Responsibility for the settlements transferred from Social Services to the Department of Municipal Affairs* (Bell, 1994:8).

1982 *The "MacEwan Committee,"* lead by Grant MacEwen was established to review the Metis Betterment Act. The committee consisted of 5 members, which included 2 representatives from the settlements (Bell, 1994: 8 and Purich, 1988:149).

1984 *"Report of the MacEwen Joint Metis-Government Committee to Review the Metis Betterment Act and Regulations."* The principle recommendations:[5]

1. Called for granting title to the settlement lands to the settlements themselves;
2. Allow for the Settlements a greater measure of self-government (Purich, 1988:150).

June 1985 *"Resolution 18"* passed by the Alberta Legislature to *transfer ownership of the settlement lands from the government to the settlements themselves.*

Also proposed a measure of *self-government* for the settlements and called upon the Metis to draft *membership rules* and to define their desired *governing structure*.

The ownership of minerals was to remain with the provincial government and the Alberta Act was to be changed so that the Metis Settlement lands could never be taken without the consent of the Metis themselves (Purich, 1988: 149-152 and Bell, 1994: 14-15).

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[5] For a comprehensive, concise list of all recommendations, refer to the report itself or the discussion or see Bell, 1994: 12-14.

Aug. 1986 *"By Means of Conferences and Negotiations We Ensure Our Rights,"* a position paper presented to Premier Don Getty by the Metis. In this paper, they proposed two levels of government:

1. A council for each settlement that held powers similar to a municipal government; and,
2. A provincial governing body, or Okimawiwin (in Cree, means a group of leaders), which is now called the Metis General Council. This council would have power over land-use, hunting, trapping, health, education and membership procedures. (Bell, 1994: 15)[6]

June 1987 In response to the Metis position paper, the *government released draft legislation adopting many, but not all, of the proposed ideas*. The significant differences occurred in the area of self-government where the government: a) delegated some of it's powers to the Okimawiwin and the settlements, b) retained power to make decisions regarding health, education and welfare, c) gave settlements councils the same by-law and taxation powers of municipalities, d) subjected settlements to various provincial laws (e.g., traffic, liquor and surface rights for oil and gas); and, e) prohibited the settlements from commercial activity or investing in securities except under ministerial regulation, or as Purich (1988) termed 'provincial censorship' (Purich, 1988: 153-155).

July 1988 *Bill 64, "The Metis Settlements Act" and Bill 65, "The Metis Settlements Land Act,"* were introduced into the Legislative Assembly. The former bill provided a framework for *local Metis government* with the later addressing the *transfer of title* of each settlement area to the General Council. Both bills died immediately, and the government indicated that the oil and gas lawsuit must first be settled before any resolutions were to proceed (Bell, 1994:19).

June 1989 A *proposed Accord* was announced by the government which would result in the over twenty-year-old *lawsuit* being *dropped* with the *Metis to receive $310 million over a period of seventeen years* to support governance and the operation of the settlements (Bell, 1994:19).

June 21, 1989 A *referendum* was held on each settlement regarding the proposed Accord. Two concerns were raised by the settlements. The first concern, was related to the ultimate power that the General Council would hold. The later was the accessibility of settlement membership to nonsettlement members. Of those who voted, 77 per cent supported the Accord (Bell, 1994:19).

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[6] For a detailed discussion of this position paper, refer to the position paper itself, or see: Bell, 1994: 15-16.

July 1, 1989 *The Alberta-Metis Settlements Accord* executed by Premier Don Getty and the President of the Federation, Randy Hardy. Components of the Accord included:

1. The suggestions of Resolution 18 and Bills 64 and 65,
2. A proposed agreement on financial assistance and resource management,
3. An agreement to *establish the Metis Settlements Transition Commission* to oversee the effective implementation of the Accord; and,
4. An agreement regarding the co-management of subsurface resources.

(Bell, 1994:19-20)

Nov. 14, 1989 The council of the *Paddle Prairie settlement voted to withdraw from the Accord.* They claimed that the Metis Federation ignored their concerns, had too much power and that the revenues generated from their own settlement should be placed in their own trust fund. They were also concerned that the funds would be distributed equally among the settlements, regardless of their population and relative expenses (Bell, 1994: 20, 90). This concern was one of the many important reasons that an accurate census count was required for each of the Metis settlements.

Jan. 1990 119 *members of Paddle Prairie voted against their Council's decision to pull out of the Accord* (86 members voted in favour) (Bell, 1994: 20).

Nov. 1, 1990 The government of Alberta enacted the *Metis Settlements Land Protection Act*, the *Metis Settlements Act (MSA),* the *Metis Settlements Accord Implementation Act, the Constitution of Alberta Amendment Act, 1990*; and, four new *Bills 33-36*. Bell (1994) states that this was an historical milestone for the Metis, as it was a first for providing a legislated and constitutional landbase for the Metis, and that it "represents a unprecedented step towards Metis economic independence and local government" (Bell, 1994: 1). Eight major outcomes occurred as a result of the legislation:

1. protection of a collective landbase for settlement members and creation of a unique landholding system,
2. development of a local Metis government,
3. a temporary mechanism for implementation of Metis control over local government and financial administration,

4. a commitment of $310 million to be allocated over a period of seventeen years,
5. the province to provide grants matching specified revenues collected by the settlements,
6. the settlements to have access to certain grants on the same basis as other local governments in Alberta,
7. a Co-Management Agreement which provides a framework for management of subsurface resources; and,
8. the Federation of Metis Settlements agreed to stay a twenty-one-year-old lawsuit against Alberta which alleged that the province withheld and mismanaged a subsurface resource fund (Bell, 1994:1).

June 2, 1995 *Metis Settlements General Council Census Policy, Bill 95-C passed.* The Census Policy outlined the purpose of the census, establishing a unified census, requirements of a unified census and details on data collection. The purpose of conducting a census were listed as follows:

a) to make it possible to develop a reliable source of information about settlement area communities that will help in:
    i) assessing community services and planning settlement development,
    ii) determining eligibility for grants and services; and,
    iii) resolving issues requiring population statistics (which include the contentious General Council Financial Allocation Policy which decides how much money each settlement is to be allocated)
b) to ensure this information is gathered in a way that ensures coordination, consistency, and credibility;
c) to provide of means of resolving issues related to incomplete information.
(Metis Settlements General Council Census Policy, Bill 95-C, 1995: 1).

June 12-20, 1995 *Metis Settlements Census* undertaken by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta, under direction of the Metis Settlement General Council.

5. Summary

This abridged history of the Metis Settlements of Alberta provides a base for the reader to continue with a more thoughtful analysis of the socio-economic conditions that currently exist in these communities. When evaluating these circumstances, the historical underpinnings are essential in realizing why some conditions exist as they do at this time. In general the Metis have been either marginalized or badly treated by the government. The situation of the Metis is similar to other Native Canadians. Only recently have Canadians come to accept this fact. The relative socio-economic depravation of the Metis stems from this historical reality.

The historical development of the Metis settlements of Alberta has transformed from paternalistic church and government control to a recent devolution of power to the hands of the Metis settlements themselves. The original St. Paul des Metis settlement of 1895, formed by Father Albert Lacombe, initiated the early paternalistic trend of government and religious interaction with the Metis people of Alberta. After this settlement dissolved, the Metis people were once again dispossessed and without a landbase. The recognition of strong Metis leaders coupled with the formation of the Metis Association of Alberta in 1932 was an initial building block to strengthen the Metis voice. Throughout history the disparate economic conditions of the Metis people in Alberta have often been formally acknowledged by the government. Rarely, however, have effective measures been taken that make a substantive difference.

The initial recognition of these conditions was in the early 1800s, followed by numerous inquiries during the depression years of the 1930s. The first Royal Commission, the Ewing Commission, was formed in 1934 to evaluate the situation of the Metis people. The tone of this report retained the same paternalism and lack of substantive input from the Metis people themselves. The next tangible move to arise from this commission was the The Metis Population Betterment Act of 1938 which allowed limited Metis control of Metis associations. True power and control at this time, however, was still ultimately held by the government and the local government supervisor that ran each settlement. The dynamics began to shift in 1969 when the settlements sued the government over oil and gas money that was allegedly supposed to be placed in their own Metis Population Betterment Trust Account, not the government purse. This lawsuit became a government burden and strong bargaining point for the Metis people and was not resolved until over 20 years later. A task force in 1972 admitted the distinct failure of the Metis betterment scheme and was the first call for a tangible move to Metis autonomy. In 1982, the MacEwan Committee was also formed to review the failure of the Metis Betterment Act. This committee recommended the transfer of land ownership to the Metis people and a greater measure of self government. This was followed by a position paper that was presented to the provincial Alberta government in 1986 outlining recommendations from the Metis people themselves. The recommendations called for settlements to have municipal power and the formation of a Metis General Council to oversee all eight settlements and control vital determinants of socio-economic conditions such as: hunting, trapping, health and education. The government's response in 1987, however, did not allow the Metis General Council control of their own health, education and welfare and still prohibited the settlements from commercial activity or investment in securities. As the following pages demonstrate, the latter 'provincial censorship' resulted in an obvious lack of Metis businesses and investment income. This censorship ultimately affected both labour force activity and aspects of income levels and sources of income. A landmark move in 1989 with the Alberta-Metis Settlements Accord resulted in economic support from the government and the first real shift of power to the settlements themselves. This was also when moves to drop the 1969 oil and gas lawsuit began. In November of 1990, four new acts along with four new government bills, represented the final transformation in the transition of power from the government to the Metis settlements.

As the Metis Settlements General Council gained control over their own socio-economic welfare, they also realized that they required material proof of the conditions that exist on the settlements. It was imperative that they have a reliable census to assist in community planning, determining eligibility for certain government services and resolving the financial division of moneys between the eight settlements themselves. For this reason, after two failed attempts to conduct such an endeavor, they approached the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta to ensure consistent and credible information about the Metis settlements. In light of their new municipal power, each settlement required demographic information in order to plan for services and programs. This includes such things as educational programs related to children or services related to elders in the community. It was also essential to determine a population base for each settlement.

Finally, they needed this information to further develop their economic strategy. In order to devise economic tactics they needed to know concrete information about: What kinds of jobs currently exist? How many people are unemployed? What skills do settlement members have? What are the income levels of settlement members? Where do people on the settlement obtain their income from? These are all questions that are answered by the information obtained from the 1995 Metis Settlements Census and within the analysis in this thesis. Data and the statistics that are produced from it are often difficult to understand when they are presented in isolation without a comparison group or community. For this reason, the aspects of population distribution, education, labour force and income will be compared against the general population living in Alberta and in the country of Canada. This provides a yardstick in which to measure the current socio-economic conditions of the Metis settlements of Alberta.

III. Methodology of the 1995 Metis Settlements Census

The methodology employed during the 1995 Metis Settlements Census followed the guidelines of the Statistics Canada methods used during their regular Canadian Census. As researchers, we made the decision to strictly follow these methods for reasons of efficiency, validity and comparability. Considerable effort was taken to ensure high standards throughout all collection and processing operations. The census turned out to be very successful for a number of reasons. The first and most vital explanation for this success is that the census itself was initiated by the Metis Settlements General Council and had virtually all of the support of the individual Settlement Administrations. Another aspect was the fact that all of the enumerators were members of the Metis Settlements, not strangers asking seemingly invasive questions. Finally, with a solid, organized and predetermined methodological plan, the training of staff, distribution of questionnaires, enumeration and questionnaire verification went smoothly.

Why did the Metis Settlements General Council need to conduct an independent census? In Canada, a census is taken every four years. Why could the Settlements not use this data? In 1991, there was also an Aboriginal People's Survey. Why was this information not used? The answers to these questions hinge on the fact that there has been a tradition of underenumeration of both people and households on settlements and on reserves. Factors such as inaccessibility or refusal by settlement and first nation members are paramount. Statistics Canada readily admits that: "[s]ome Indian reserves and Indian settlements were incompletely enumerated during the 1986 and/or 1991 Censuses" (Cat. No. 93-328, 1993:8). For this reason, the General Council, Settlement Administrations and residents of the Settlements felt that the information that existed about the settlements was inaccurate and misleading. In addition, there is a distinct lack of recognition of questions in the general Census that specifically relate to the reality of the Metis communities. These omissions include a lack of questions regarding Metis membership status, alternate educational credentials and employment patterns.

1. Questionnaire and handbook construction

From the very inception of the census, the elected Metis Settlements General Council were the leaders in the direction of the project and still maintain sole ownership of the data and reports derived from the census. The Population Research Laboratory was the technical vehicle to shape the General Council's ideas into a methodological reality. Questionnaire development occurred under the authority of the Metis Settlements General Council during April and May of 1995. At this time, the Census Guide, Enumerator's Handbook and Technical Assistant's Handbook were also developed by this researcher, Dr. Harvey Krahn and Cliff Kinzel, with the aid of previous census and other survey material.[7] The Census Questionnaire (included in Appendix II) was administered by the enumerators to each household on the eight Metis Settlements. The Census Guide provided concise and easy to understand definitions of each question along with a justification of why each question was important for the Census. The Enumerator's and Technical Assistant's handbooks were used to train and to assist the workers while they were in the field. Finally, the Census Data codebook was compiled as a companion to the computerized version of the data set which can be read and analyzed within the SPSS statistical software system.

2. Maps, membership lists and training

Before the census began, Settlements were asked to provide *maps* and a *Leave of Absence list* to the Population Research Laboratory. A *Membership list* of each Settlement was obtained from the General Council and remained confidential throughout the census. There were a total of four technical assistants hired by the Population Research Laboratory to coordinate the activities of the enumerators and to edit the questionnaires for mistakes and necessary callbacks to ensure completeness of information. A total of thirty-two enumerators (approximately 4 for each Settlement) were hired by the Settlement Administration and were residents of the Settlements in which they were enumerating.[8] Training of Technical Assistants took place over two days and for Enumerators occurred on one day in Edmonton, on Thursday, June 8.

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[7] A technical report containing: a) the census questionnaire, b) the census guide, c) enumerator's handbook, d) technical assistant's handbook; and e) the SPSS census data codebook, was also written by Melinda Mills, Harvey Krahn and Cliff Kinzel. The Metis Settlements General Council Settlements Census 1995, Report III: Technical Report. Edmonton, AB: Population Research Laboratory, University of Alberta (Oct. 6, 1995: 93 pp). However, it should be noted that this technical report, along with the first two reports are the sole property of the Metis Settlements General Council and are available only by contacting the General Council. The General Council reserves the right to maintain the confidentiality of these reports.

3. Enumeration

Enumeration began on Saturday, June 10, 1995 (in Peavine, enumeration began on Monday, June 12, 1995) and was completed on June 24, 1995. The Technical Assistants would *distribute the questionnaires* and *review the enumeration route* with the enumerators each day (or as otherwise scheduled because of distance). At this time they would also *review the previous day's work* with the enumerator to check for any missing information, problems with the record keeping and for the majority, to commend them on the excellent and efficient work completed. If call-backs were required because of extensive missing information, they were undertaken after all houses were enumerated or completed immediately if it was a matter of a simple phone call or on the current enumeration route.

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[8] Questions were raised by the University of Alberta's Ethics Committee regarding this point. They feared that having members of the community asking personal information to their neighbours may infringe upon confidentiality. This was discussed in detail with the General Council and the enumerators. The enumerator's were required to sign a notarized "Oath of Confidentiality" and a discussion on the personal and legal obligations of confidentiality was also covered during enumerator training. We did not receive complaints of any nature about breaches of confidentiality.

During enumeration, each enumerator was provided with an *enumeration area* that was allocated from a Master Settlement Map. They were directed by the Technical Assistant to complete the route in the most efficient manner possible and to keep records of each visit to every house regardless of whether they had completed the interview. This record was kept in the form of a 'Call-back sheet', a form that was stapled to the front of each questionnaire. The sheet contained the questionnaire number, the section-township-range and telephone number along with a record of visits and precoded call status categories (such as 'no one home', 'left a call-back card', 'only children home'). In order to keep track of which houses had been enumerated, the enumerators would report the area covered on their map to the technical assistant. The technical assistant would then assign a questionnaire number to the completed Census form and add this number to the corresponding house on the Master Control Settlement Map. This made it easier to see which houses had been enumerated and which still needed to be contacted. The number that matched the corresponding household proved to be useful when going back to check information on a questionnaire and for the use of verification at the end of the census.

Houses that were marked as *vacant* were reported to the technical assistant who then consulted with the local Settlement Administration on the status of the household. All vacancies were double-checked at the end of the census to ensure that no one had been missed. *Refusals* were dealt with initially by sending an older enumerator (e.g., one who spoke Cree) to the household to explain the importance of the census. This proved to be a very effective method. If this failed, the basic demographic information (up to question 10(c), age, sex, marital status, membership and residency) was taken from the Settlement's membership files and signed to be true by a Settlement Administrator who had taken an oath of confidentiality (as had all enumerators).

During enumeration the technical assistants would check the questionnaires turned in by the enumerator at the end of each day (or as otherwise scheduled). The questionnaires were checked for completeness, data inconsistencies and membership verification. Checking for membership involved checking off the name on the membership list for each legitimate member. If an individual claimed to be a member, but was not found on the list, their names were forwarded for checking with the General Council Census Liaison. These names were resolved, with the majority being women who were registered under their maiden names on the list. Others were young adults whose membership application was pending. Some were refusals. After all enumeration was completed, the technical assistants consulted an individual in each Settlement Office and had them write an explanation next to each name that had not been enumerated. A minuscule number appeared to have been legitimately missed and could be assigned to a household. Others had left the Settlements, whereabouts unknown, died or were institutionalized. For the persons that were legitimately missed, the information was either obtained from the household (if time permitted) or the basic demographic information (up to question 10 (c): see previous note) was taken from the Settlement's membership files and signed to be true by a Settlement Administrator. Cases existed where a Settlement claimed that a number of individuals on the membership list were not counted and still needed to be, but *failed to provide any information* to assign them to a household or to provide any basic demographic information from the Settlement files. In these cases, these members were not included in the final count as no information was provided to prove their residency on the settlement. This choice was made as we were confident that the enumerator's had visited every household and had received a list of every member that resided there.

Where technical assistants and enumerators were actively supported by the Settlement Administration, the Census progressed at a more efficient and organized pace. For example, those Settlements that failed to provide an early map for enumeration completed the Census at a substantially slower rate and experienced problems such as enumerator overlap and less effective enumeration tactics. Although all Settlements eventually provided some form of a map, those that provided it in advance allowed us to create pre-planned enumeration routes. Finally, where cooperation was provided from the local Administration in checking questionnaires against the Membership Registry, the procedure also went substantially faster.[9]

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[9] Some room for *improvement*, however would result in a still greater efficiency. As Research Manager, I derived the following suggestions from my own experience coupled with informal discussions with he enumerator's, technical assistants, Settlement Associations and the General Council. a) Advertising would be more effective if flyers were received a week or two in advance of the census. (Most were received on the last few days that it occurred). Also, large posters in each Settlement Office and around the Settlement would be effective, b) It should be a mandatory requirement that each enumerator has access to a vehicle, c) Enumerators should not hold a full-time (or substantial part-time) job during the Census. The Census should be a full-time job in itself, d) After the full day of training in Edmonton, it would have been beneficial for each Settlement to have a half-day of hands-on training at their own Settlement in a smaller group. This would result in less mistakes at the beginning of the Census; and, d) The logistics and traveling distances were somewhat difficult for the technical assistant who was at the three Settlements of East Prairie, Peavine and Gift Lake.

4. Editing, cleaning and keypunching of data

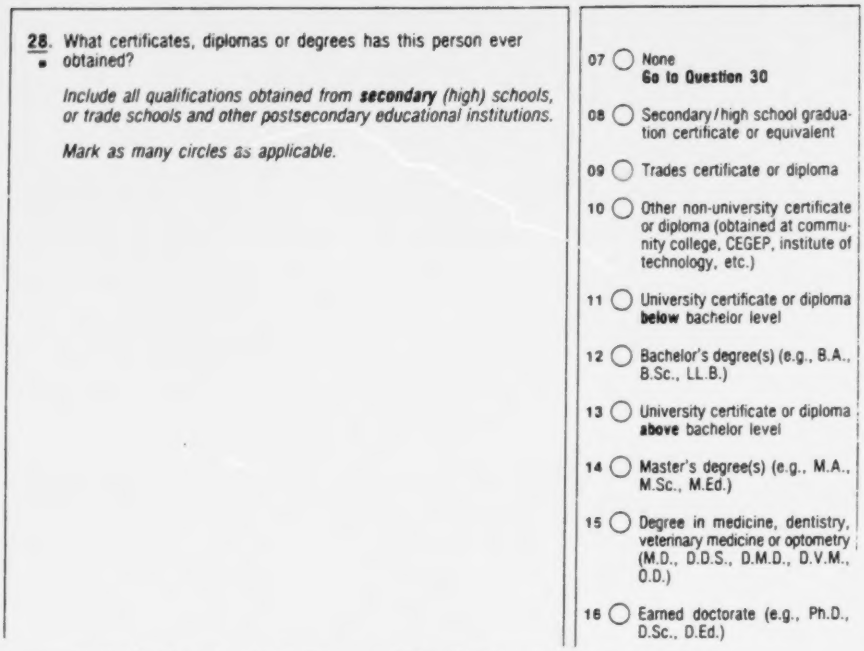
Finished questionnaires were processed at the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Processing the questionnaires involved a final editing check for completeness, keypunching the data into the computer system and writing the SPSS computer syntax file in order to label and read the data. During this time 'data cleaning' was also performed. Data cleaning included a thorough analysis of the data to trace inconsistencies such as problems with answering skip questions. A skip question requires a respondent to follow a certain sequence on the questionnaire dependent on their previous answers. For example, refer to page six of the questionnaire in Appendix II. Question thirteen concerns completion of primary and secondary school (referred to as 'regular school' upon advisement by the Metis Settlements General Council). If a person answered 'Never Attended School', then they should obviously 'skip' the questions regarding regular school and go directly to question 19. Further cleaning involved applying four digit National Occupation Classification codes to the occupation question and two digit Standard Industry Classification codes to the related industry query. A large amount of time and care was also taken in coding the 'open-ended' answers. These were the spaces where persons could report an 'other' answer not listed in the pre-determined selection of choices. For instance, I derived a variety of new categories for question 19 regarding post-secondary certificates, diplomas or degrees which will be discussed in the next section.

5. Methodological innovations

The previous two examples also show the way in which this Census deviated from that of statistics Canada. Members of the Metis Settlements General Council were extremely clear at the outset that the questionnaire must have clear language that all persons could understand. For this reason, we collectively made the decision to change certain questions. As stated previously, the term ‘regular school’ was felt to be more straightforward of a term than ‘primary and secondary school’ for the question regarding early education. It was language that both enumerators and respondents used and felt comfortable with (it should be noted that this simple and direct phraseology could also be extended to many Canadians and was not changed for reasons peculiar to the Metis people only). Certain other aspects of the education section were also changed from the format typically employed by Statistics Canada.

During discussions with the Metis Settlements General Council, we surmised that few Settlement members had received University education. In fact, the census showed that only one percent of Metis Settlement residents reported a University degree. On the advisement of the General Council, we collapsed the University degree category into one opposed to the six categories used by Statistics Canada. The 1991 Census of Canada included the followed question regarding post-secondary education.

The ‘other’ category was expanding during data cleaning to include: incomplete trade certificate, counseling/social work diploma, early childhood development certificate, trapping/hunting/native arts certificate, class one license



28. What certificates, diplomas or degrees has this person ever obtained?

Include all qualifications obtained from ***secondary*** *(high) schools, or trade schools and other postsecondary educational institutions.*

Mark as many circles as applicable.

07 ○ None
Go to Question 30

08 ○ Secondary/high school graduation certificate or equivalent

09 ○ Trades certificate or diploma

10 ○ Other non-university certificate or diploma (obtained at community college, CEGEP, institute of technology, etc.)

11 ○ University certificate or diploma **below** bachelor level

12 ○ Bachelor's degree(s) (e.g., B.A., B.Sc., LL.B.)

13 ○ University certificate or diploma **above** bachelor level

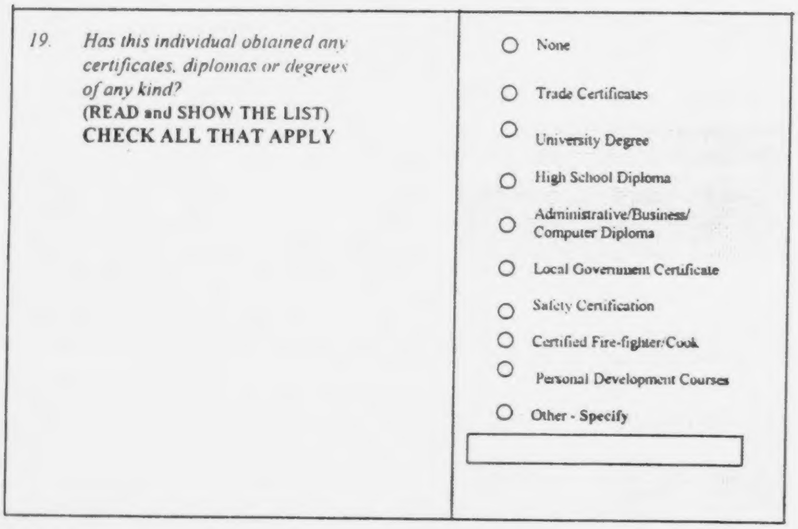
14 ○ Master's degree(s) (e.g., M.A., M.Sc., M.Ed.)

15 ○ Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry (M.D., D.D.S., D.M.D., D.V.M., O.D.)

16 ○ Earned doctorate (e.g., Ph.D., D.Sc., D.Ed.)

Source: Statistics Canada. 1991 Census of Canada Questionnaire, 1991: 14

Question 19 in the 1995 Metis Settlements Census addressed the same question as:



19. Has this individual obtained any certificates, diplomas or degrees of any kind?
(READ and SHOW THE LIST)
CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

○ None
○ Trade Certificates
○ University Degree
○ High School Diploma
○ Administrative/Business/ Computer Diploma
○ Local Government Certificate
○ Safety Certification
○ Certified Fire-fighter/Cook
○ Personal Development Courses
○ Other - Specify

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census Questionnaire, 1995: 8

course and RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police)/Bylaw diploma. In this way we focused on the *presence* of skills, not the *absence* of them. With such a minority reporting a University degree, the breakdown of this area into six divisions would have been at most useless and at worst, intimidating for the respondent.

Another area in which we altered the census questionnaire was in the section concerning income. The 1991 Canadian Census breaks down sources of income in a very detailed way (see next page). The decision was made to alter this question for a variety of reasons. Metis Settlements General Council members felt that there would be a higher non-response rate if we followed the traditional Statistics Canada format shown previously. The reason for this was that the income question as it stood was: a) confusing, b) difficult to answer such detail for another person living in the household;[10] and, c) invasive. On the initiative of the Metis Settlements General Council, we broke down sources of income into two questions regarding ***all*** sources of income (question 32, page 14 of questionnaire in Appendix II) and ***main*** source of income (question 36, page 16 of questionnaire in Appendix II).

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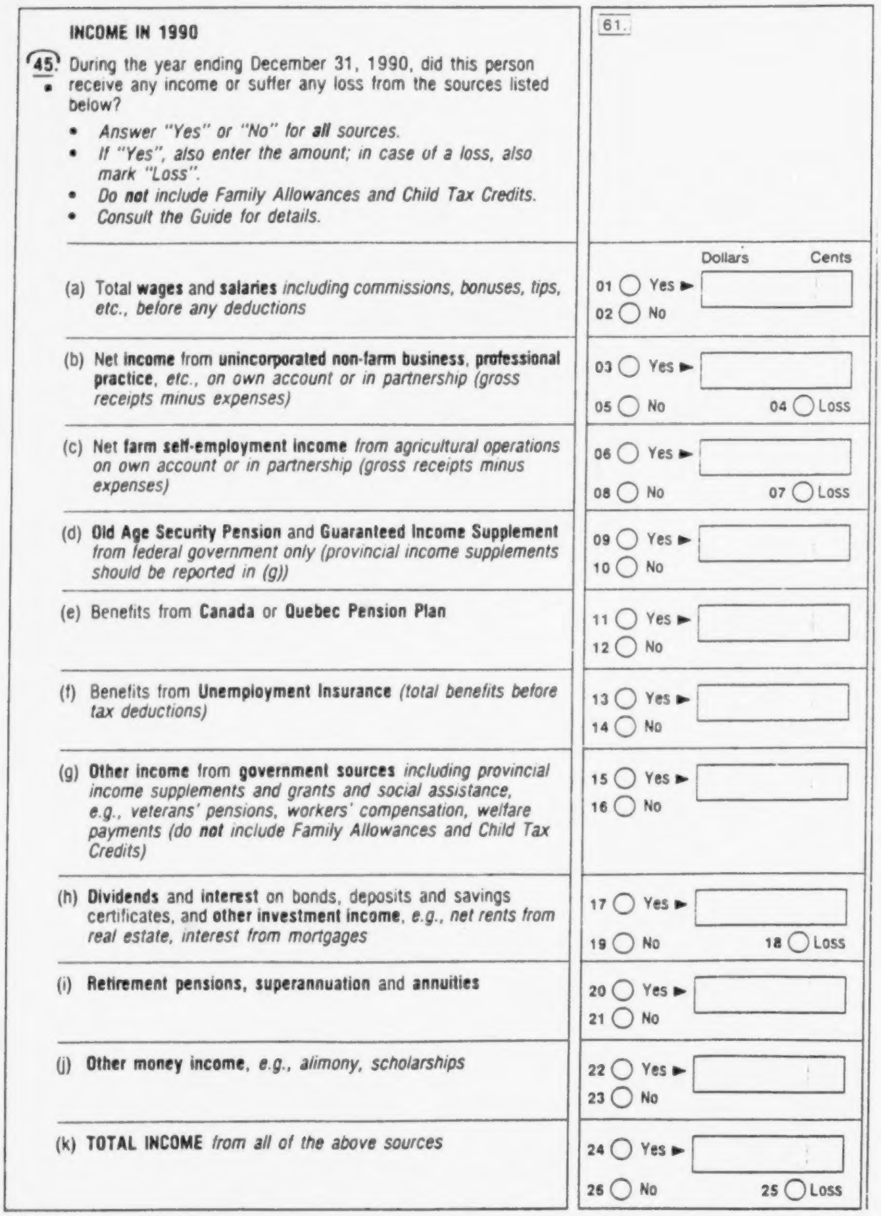
[10] Remember that for both Statistics Canada and the 1995 Metis Settlements Census', one adult in the household often answers for all members of that household. For the Metis Settlements Census, we had trained enumerators equipped with detailed Census Guides travel form house to house and administer the questionnaire in person. Statistics Canada (for obvious reasons of cost, time constraints, etc.) drop off the questionnaire and guide for self-administration.

This is the income question from the 1991 Statistics Canada Census.



INCOME IN 1990

45. During the year ending December 31, 1990, did this person receive any income or suffer any loss from the sources listed below?

- *Answer "Yes" or "No" for* ***all*** *sources.*
- *If "Yes", also enter the amount; in case of a loss, also mark "Loss".*
- *Do* ***not*** *include Family Allowances and Child Tax Credits.*
- *Consult the Guide for details.*

61.

		Dollars	Cents
(a) Total **wages** and **salaries** *including commissions, bonuses, tips, etc., before any deductions*	01 ○ Yes ► 02 ○ No		
(b) Net **income** from **unincorporated non-farm business, professional practice,** *etc., on own account or in partnership (gross receipts minus expenses)*	03 ○ Yes ► 05 ○ No	04 ○ Loss	
(c) Net **farm self-employment income** *from agricultural operations on own account or in partnership (gross receipts minus expenses)*	06 ○ Yes ► 08 ○ No	07 ○ Loss	
(d) **Old Age Security Pension** and **Guaranteed Income Supplement** *from federal government only (provincial income supplements should be reported in (g))*	09 ○ Yes ► 10 ○ No		
(e) Benefits from **Canada** or **Quebec Pension Plan**	11 ○ Yes ► 12 ○ No		
(f) Benefits from **Unemployment Insurance** *(total benefits before tax deductions)*	13 ○ Yes ► 14 ○ No		
(g) **Other income** from **government sources** *including provincial income supplements and grants and social assistance, e.g., veterans' pensions, workers' compensation, welfare payments (do* ***not*** *include Family Allowances and Child Tax Credits)*	15 ○ Yes ► 16 ○ No		
(h) **Dividends** and **interest** on bonds, deposits and savings certificates, and **other investment income,** *e.g., net rents from real estate, interest from mortgages*	17 ○ Yes ► 19 ○ No	18 ○ Loss	
(i) **Retirement pensions, superannuation** and **annuities**	20 ○ Yes ► 21 ○ No		
(j) **Other money income,** *e.g., alimony, scholarships*	22 ○ Yes ► 23 ○ No		
(k) **TOTAL INCOME** *from all of the above sources*	24 ○ Yes ► 26 ○ No	25 ○ Loss	

Source: Statistics Canada. 1991 Census of Canada Questionnaire, 1991: 24

The question(s) regarding income used in the 1995 Metis Settlements Census were far less detailed than the methods used by Statistics Canada. This difference is apparent in question 36 on main source of income and question 37, which addresses level of income.

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census Questionnaire, 1995: 16

If a person received Worker's Compensation, Unemployment Insurance or Social Assistance, we also asked how many months they had received this. Finally, the total

level of income asked once as a cumulative sum opposed to the detail breakdown required by Statistics Canada. To address concerns regarding confidentiality and response rates, respondents were shown a response card with 32 income bracket categories. From this card, they could simply pick a two digit code for their income and respond accordingly to the enumerator.

This description of the methodology that was employed during the 1995 Metis Settlements Census should put the reader at ease when examining the data to follow. It should be noted that although the methodology is important, without the cooperation of the settlement members, enumerators, settlement administration and the Metis Settlements General Council, this census would not have been as successful as it was.

IV. Population comparisons

This section offers a comparison of the age and sex distribution of the Metis settlements in comparison to Alberta and Canada. The differences between age and sex structure are readily apparent by viewing the *population pyramids* and through the calculation of the overall *crude dependency and labour-market adjusted dependency ratios*. The reader should pay particular attention to the age and sex distribution of each population, as these will not only be a determinant of differences throughout the ongoing analysis, but will also influence the interpretation of the data.

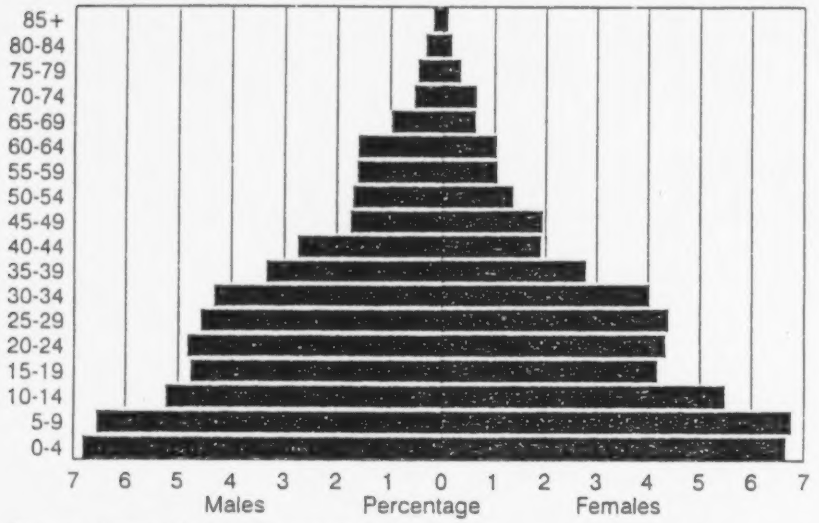
1. Population distribution

The age and sex distribution of a particular population is a worthy point of departure for any general analysis. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the Metis Settlements by age and sex in relation to the population of Alberta and Canada as a whole. The age structure of the Metis Settlements has weighty implications for the economically active adults in the population. This will be clear in the discussion to follow regarding dependency ratios.

Figure 2. Age and sex distribution of the Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995), Canada and Alberta (1991)

Metis Settlements Population

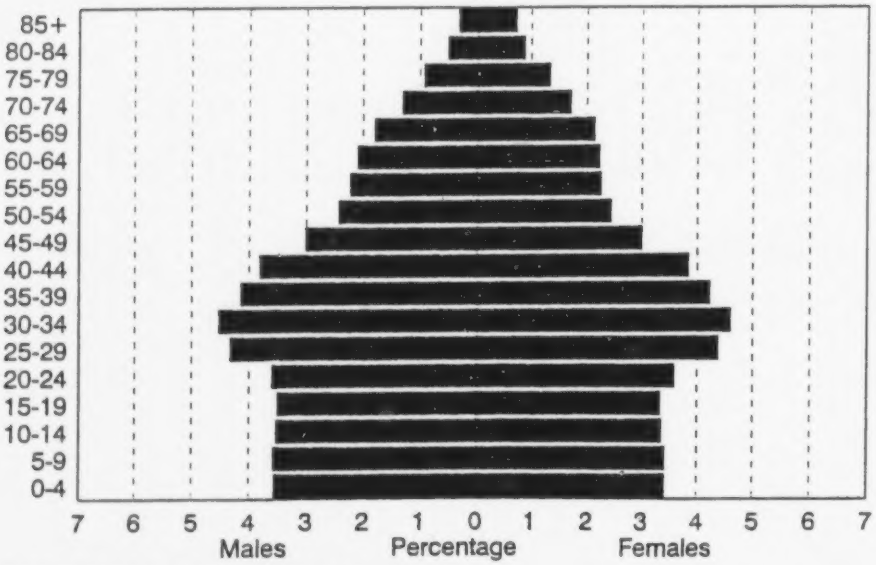
1995



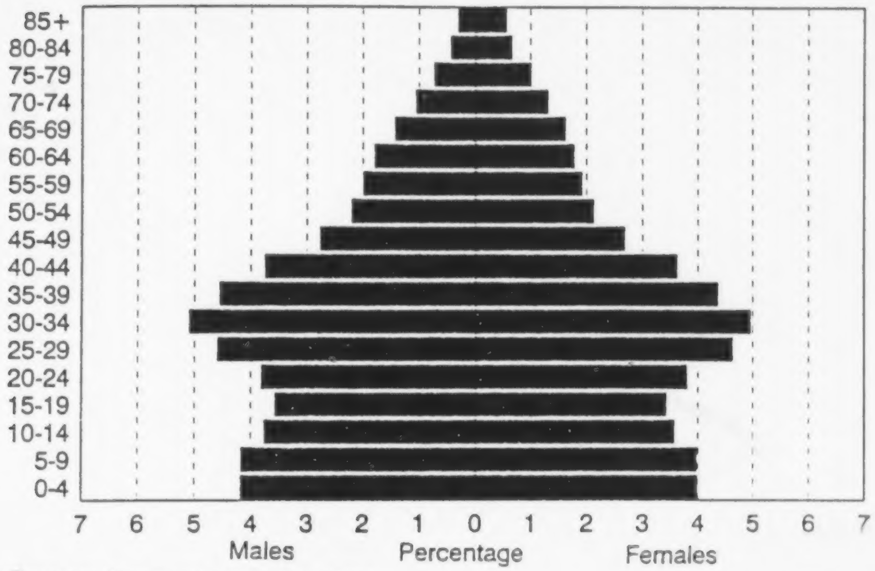
Source: Alberta Metis Settlements Census, 1995

Population Of Canada

1991



Source: Census Of Canada 1991



Population Of Alberta

1991

Source: Census Of Canada 1991

Both the population pyramids and Table 1 reveal that the Metis settlement population is significantly younger than the population of Alberta and Canada. The average age of Metis settlement residents is 25 years. Over one-third (37.3 percent) are under 15 years and over half or, 55.4 percent of the population are under the age of 25. This is directly contrasted with Alberta, which has 23.6 percent and 38.2 percent in the respective categories. Canada shows an even wider gap with 21.4 percent of the population under 15 years and 35.4 percent under the age of 25. Although the 1995 Metis Settlements Census did not ask questions on fertility, it can be extrapolated that there is a higher birth rate on the settlements in comparison to Alberta and Canada. The higher concentration of a younger population may also be attributed in a minor way to limited migration of individuals under 15 years and perhaps greater migration out of the settlements among the adult population.

Conversely, the number of people between 15 to 44 years are almost identical for the three populations at: 46.2 percent for the settlements, 50.2 percent for Alberta and 47.8 percent for Canada. The distinction is more explicit as we reach the 45 to 64 year cohort with: 12.2 percent for the Metis settlements, 17.3 for Alberta and 19.7 percent for Canada. The lower proportion of Metis adults in this cohort largely reflects the combination of high rates of out migration from the settlements coupled with higher mortality. A final marked discrepancy appears in the elderly population 65 years and older, with only 4.4 percent over 65 on the Metis settlements, 9.0 in Alberta and 11.5 percent in Canada. The lower percentage in this category may be mainly a function of higher Metis morality. This census did not, however, collect direct information on mortality (such as maternal, infant and childhood mortality, life expectancy) or on fertility (crude births, age-specific fertility, total fertility rates, etc.). This would be an area where further research is both welcome and necessary. Summing up, it can be said that there are many more children and young adults residing on the Metis Settlements and far fewer senior citizens in comparison to Alberta and Canada.

Figure 2 also shows a difference in the sex composition of the different areas. The sex ratio for the Metis settlements is 110.9. This crude ratio shows the number of males per 100 females. A sex ratio above 100 denotes an excess of males. A sex ratio below 100 denotes an excess of females. This sex ratio shows a marked excess of males. There are three general factors that this could be attributed to: a) out-migration of females, b) differential mortality (i.e., higher mortality rate among women); or, c) data error. The strongest indicator of these three factors is out-migration. The population pyramid in Figure 2 shows a sharp decrease in women beginning at age 15 to 19 years and continuing to the age 40 to 44 year cohort. Women may be leaving the settlement for reasons such as education or employment.

Table 1. **Percentage of Population by Sex, Showing Selected Age Groups, for Canada, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, 1995 (1991 - 100% Data)**

Age Groups	Total			Female			Male		
	CANADA	ALBERTA	METIS SET.	CANADA	ALBERTA	METIS SET.	CANADA	ALBERTA	METIS SET.
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-4 years	7.2	8.2	13.8	6.7	8.0	14.5	7.3	8.3	13.1
5-9 years	7.3	8.1	13.5	6.7	8.0	14.5	7.3	8.3	12.7
10-14 years	6.9	7.3	10.0	6.6	7.2	9.8	7.2	7.5	10.2
15-24 years	14.0	14.6	18.1	13.6	14.5	17.9	14.5	14.7	18.2
25-34 years	17.8	19.3	17.3	17.7	19.2	17.8	18.0	19.3	16.8
35-44 years	16.0	16.3	10.8	15.9	16.0	10.1	16.2	16.6	11.4
45-54 years	10.9	9.8	6.8	10.7	9.6	7.2	11.1	9.9	6.4
55-64 years	8.8	7.5	5.4	8.8	7.4	4.4	8.8	7.5	6.3
65-74 years	6.9	5.4	2.8	7.5	5.8	2.6	6.3	5.0	2.9
75-84 years	3.6	2.8	1.3	4.3	3.3	1.1	2.9	2.3	1.6
85 and over	1.0	0.8	0.3	1.4	1.1	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.4

Source Statistics Canada. Age, Sex and Marital Status. The Nation. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1992. 1991 census of Canada. pp. 6, 12
1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

2. Dependency ratios

The age structure of the Metis settlements has far-reaching repercussions in terms of the support that is required from the economically active adults in the population (i.e., those aged 15-64 years). Another way to compare populations is through the use of dependency ratios. Two types of dependency ratios are relevant: the *crude overall dependency ratio* and the *labour market dependency ratio*. The crude dependency ratio shows the number of dependents (that is, persons under the age of 15 and over the age of 64) per 100 persons aged 15 to 64 years. The latter age group is the population that is considered to be economically active.[11] Simply put, it is the number of children and elderly persons being supported by every hundred working age adults. Figure 3 is a familiar way to envision the contrast between the age groups[12]. The crude dependency ratio for the Metis Settlements is 71.5. This means that every hundred working age Metis adults must support almost 72 children and elderly dependents. This is sharply contrasted with the dependency ratios of 48.6 for Alberta and 48.2 for Canada.

The labour market adjusted dependency ratio measures the number of persons not employed per 100 employed persons.[13] Chawla (1990) asserts that this ratio is a more realistic measure since there are a number of individuals between the ages of 15

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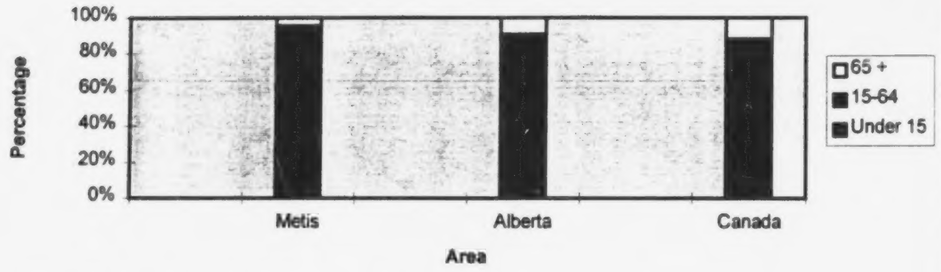
[11] The calculation for the crude dependency ratio is:
[{ (persons < 15) + (persons 65 and over) } / (persons 15 - 64)] x 100

[12] The exact percentages used in Figure 3 are as follows:

Age Groups	**Metis**	**Alberta**	**Canada**
Under 15 years	37.3	23.6	20.9
15-64 years	58.3	67.3	67.5
65 years and over	4.4	9.1	11.6

[13] The calculation for the labour market dependency ratio is:

Figure 3. Percentage distribution of population for Metis Settlements (1995), Alberta and Canada (1991)



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

to 64 who may not be employed because of school, disability, unemployment or are not in the labour force (e.g., discouraged workers). The crude dependency ratio does not measure this dependent population that is quite substantial in certain populations. The difference between these ratios is extreme for the three population groups. The labour market adjusted dependency ratio of 313.1 percent for the Metis Settlements of Alberta is twice that of surrounding Albertans whose ratio is a mere 104.3 percent. The low ratio for Alberta can also be contrasted with Canada as a whole, which stands at 131.8 percent. A dependency ratio of 313.1 percent means that there are 313 persons who are dependent on each 100 employed persons on the Metis Settlements. Or, for every 100 employed Metis Settlement members aged 15 to 64 years, 313 persons were not employed (under 15, over 65 years or not employed). The strain on the employed members on the Settlements is double of what it would be for those persons living in the surrounding province.

[{ (persons < 15) + (persons 65 and over) + (persons 15 - 64 not employed) } / (employed persons 15-64)] x 100

Why then, do we find such striking differences between the populations? Some notable influences on the labour market dependency ratio may be attributed to differences in: educational credentials and employability, labour market opportunity, population structure, migration and differences in disability rates. As the discussion of educational credentials and labour force activity ensue in the pages to follow, it will be become clear why the Metis Settlements have a dependent population that greatly exceeds that of their neighbors. The difference between the population structure shows the Metis population as being considerably younger, thereby having a substantially larger dependent population under the age of 15 years. This is somewhat counterbalanced by the comparably large aging population that exists in the general population outside of the settlements.

Out-migration may also have a pivotal influence on this ratio for the settlements. Many members may have been compelled to leave the settlement in order to gain employment or higher education. This population who would subsequently have both higher education levels and are willing to leave the settlement, would almost certainly increase their chances for employability. By doing this, however, they remain outside of the settlement and support the economy of Alberta, not the settlements themselves. This leaves the settlements in somewhat of a Catch-22 situation. For, in order to gain a higher education or employment, individuals must leave the settlement. If they leave the settlement to increase their individual choices, they weaken the overall health and viability of the community. The ideal situation would be that these individuals return to the settlements after receiving an education. Unfortunately this answer is far too simplistic. As the chapter on labour force opportunity shows these individuals may not have a suitable or desirable job to return to within the settlement itself.

The story of the challenges that exist within this community begin at the basic level of the composition of the population itself. Now that the roots of the population have been exposed, we can gaze to the growth of the community itself. The three intertwining areas of education, labour force and income provide an encircling canopy to contrast and evaluate the socio-economic life within the Metis settlements. Just above the roots of the population composition rests the basis and the future of the community itself - the educational foundations.

V. Education

When examining the socio-economic conditions of a population, it is meaningful to analyze the educational attainment of the individuals within that community. We cannot truly understand why income levels are low or unemployment is high if we are not acquainted with a basic history of the people themselves or the conditions in which they live. Education provides one such foundation for understanding the broader circumstances that exist. Learning is an increasingly important factor in the Metis settlement population's future well-being. As the focus of Metis-government relations shifts from satisfying basic needs to self-government and economic self-reliance, there will be an intensifying demand for formally educated Metis settlement members.

This chapter outlines the *current educational success* and *participation of children and adults* on the Metis settlements of Alberta in comparison with the broader non-settlement population. The focus centers on two aspects of participation and success: 1) *educational attainment and acquisition of educational credentials*; and, 2) *school completion and age when individuals leave school*. This will be followed by a final discussion of why these particular educational patterns may exist on the Settlements.

Educational credentials and activity can be measured using a variety of methods. The following is in no way an exhaustive analysis of all aspects of education. Rather, it is intended to provide highlights of some of the comparative differences and conditions between the selected population groups. Comparisons were chosen for their accuracy and the comparability between the Metis Settlements Census data and Statistics Canada data. By virtue of the separate collection methods mentioned in the previous section on methodological innovations, statistics are not available or comparable for certain areas. In other instances, information specific to the Metis situation was gathered and is analyzed as such.

1. Educational attainment and credentials

The differences between the educational attainment of individuals on the Metis Settlements in comparison to the larger population is once again very pronounced. Educational attainment will be explored by reviewing the *highest levels of education completed* and the *highest degree, certificate or diploma* obtained by these adults [14] Finally, *alternative forms of education* will play an important role in understanding the overall educational composition of Metis settlement members.

A basic method to examine the educational attainment of individuals is to look at their highest level of education. As Table 2 indicates, there are some conspicuous differences between the Metis settlement population and elsewhere. One obvious gauge is the fact that the adult Metis settlement population is almost four times more likely than the average Albertan to have less than a grade nine education. As Hagey et al. (1989) state, "functional illiteracy can be measured by the percent of the population that have less than grade nine education" (1989: 5).

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[14] Children's education will be examined in section 2.

Table 2. Highest Level of Schooling Completed for Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Age Groups and Sex, Canada (1991), Alberta (1991) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995)

Age Groups and sex	Area	*Total*		*Highest level of schooling*							
				Less than grade 9		*Grades 9 - 13*		*Some post-secondary*		*University Degree*	
		Number	*%*	*Number*	*%*	*Number*	*%*	*Number*	*%*	*Number*	*%*
Total Pop 15 yrs and over TOTAL	CAN	21,304,740	100	3,051,900	14.3	9.071,585	42.6	6,761,505	31.7	2,419,750	11.4
	AB	1,918,290	100	175,075	9.1	821,540	42.8	693,720	36.2	227,945	11.9
	MET	3119	100	941	34.4	1418	51.9	341	12.5	33	1.2
FEMALES	CAN	10,882,595	100	1,560,220	14.3	4,710,525	43.3	3,528,720	32.4	1,083,130	10.0
	AB	960,390	100	83,835	8.7	422,640	44.0	352,230	36.7	101,685	10.6
	MET	1446	100	373	28.7	661	50.9	239	18.4	26	2.0
MALES	CAN	10,422,145	100	1,491,680	14.3	4,361,060	41.8	3.232,790	31.0	1,336,615	12.8
	AB	957,895	100	91,240	9.5	398,900	41.6	341,495	35.7	126,260	13.2
	MET	1673	100	568	39.6	757	52.8	102	7.1	7	0.5
15-24 years TOTAL	CAN	3,832,825	100	145,470	3.8	2,269,770	59.2	1,241,535	32.4	175,785	4.6
	AB	371,085	100	12,330	3.3	226,825	61.1	116,625	31.4	15,310	4.1
	MET	899	100	120	16.1	542	72.8	82	11.0	1	0.1
FEMALES	CAN	1,885,625	100	60,290	3.2	1,062,395	56.3	662,260	35.1	100,685	5.3
	AB	183,290	100	5,475	3.0	107,165	58.5	62,160	33.9	8,485	4.6
	MET	423	100	43	11.9	257	71.2	60	16.6	1	0.3
MALES	CAN	1,947,200	100	85,450	4.4	1,207,375	62.0	579,270	29.7	75,100	3.9
	AB	187,795	100	6,850	3.6	119,660	63.7	54,460	29.0	6,825	3.6
	MET	476	100	77	20.1	285	74.2	22	5.7	-	-

Table 2. Continued... **Highest Level of Schooling Completed for Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Age Groups and Sex, Canada (1991), Alberta (1991) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995)**

Age Groups and sex	Area	*Total*		*Highest level of schooling*							
				Less than grade 9		*Grades 9 - 13*		*Some post-secondary*		*University Degree*	
		Number	%	*Number*	%	*Number*	%	*Number*	%	*Number*	%
25 years and over TOTAL	CAN	17,471,915	100	2,906,160	16.6	6,801,815	38.9	5,519,975	31.6	2,243,965	12.8
	AB	1,547,205	100	162,750	10.5	594,720	38.4	577,100	37.3	212,635	13.7
	MET	2220	100	821	41.3	876	44.1	259	13.0	32	1.6
FEMALES	CAN	8,996,970	100	1,499,935	16.7	3,648,130	40.5	2,866,460	31.9	982,445	10.9
	AB	777,105	100	78,360	10.1	315,475	40.6	290,065	37.3	93,195	12.0
	MET	1023	100.1	330	35.2	404	43.1	179	19.1	25	2.7
MALES	CAN	8,474,945	100	1,406,230	16.6	3,153,680	37.2	2,653,515	31.3	1,261,515	14.9
	AB	770,100	100	84,390	11.0	279,245	36.3	287,035	37.3	119,435	15.5
	MET	1197	100.1	491	46.8	472	45.0	80	7.6	7	0.7

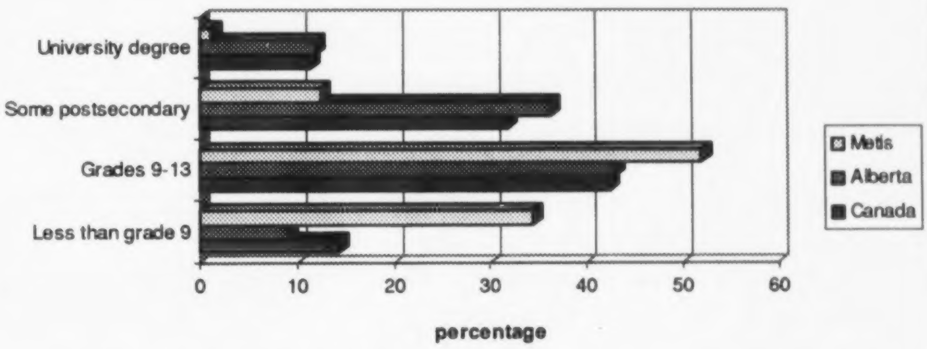
Source: Statistics Canada. Educational attainment and school attendance. Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993. 1991 Census of Canada. Catalogue number 93-328. Table 1, Canada (p. 11), Alberta (p. 20)

1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

* While there were 3119 individuals who were Metis members or dependents of Metis members living on the Settlements (15 years of age and over), some did not respond for the questions regarding highest level of schooling. The numbers for this table were also obtained from a number of variables, not one direct question addressing highest level of education. Consequently, the subtotals and percentages for the Metis subset do not add up to the total population. Percentages are calculated with the population that responded as the denominator.

With this in mind, it can be said that 34.4 percent of the Metis settlement members are functionally illiterate in comparison to 9.1 percent in Alberta and 14.3 in Canada. Hagey et al. (1989) examined the education of various aboriginal groups in comparison to Canada and found similar high rates of low education ranging from the lowest for Canadians and Off-Reserve Natives to the highest for On-Reserve and Inuit peoples. Basic results of Table 2 are portrayed by comparing the levels of education of both sexes in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Percentage of highest level of schooling completed for population 15 years of age and over, Canada, Alberta (1991) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995)



Source: 1995 Metis Settlement Census, unpublished data.

The percentage of those who have completed grades 9 to 12 on the settlements is nominally larger than the other populations.[15] This measure in Table 2 should not be confused, however, with the number who have obtained a high school diploma (this will be discussed in tandem with Table 3). Rather, this is the number of people who

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[15] Note that Statistics Canada includes Grade 13 for those provinces that follow the 13 grade system.

who have only completed a grade within that range of grades 9 to 12. This category may be somewhat higher because, as the table also demonstrates, few carry on to finish higher forms of education, such as a University Degree. Although the Metis Settlements Census included a variety of alternative measures to characterize post-secondary education, these were not included in the 'some post-secondary' category for reasons of comparability with Statistics Canada data.[16]

The change in the education trend appears to be slowly occurring. There is one major difference between the cohort aged 15 to 24 years and those over 25 years. The younger group appears to have more primary and secondary education. They are less likely to have only grade 9 or lower (16.1 percent, compared to 41.3 percent) and more likely to have completed grades 9 to 12 (72.8 percent, compared to 44.1 percent) than their older counterparts. The group over 25 years only slightly exceeds this cohort in the area of some-post-secondary and university degrees. This can be attributed moreso to age and the subsequent opportunity to gain more education however.

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[16] Included only in the 'some post-secondary category' were those who reported: a) having some post-secondary education through a screening question; and, b) having obtained an administrative, business, computer diploma, local government certificate, health care certificate/diploma, early childhood development diploma, incomplete trade certificate, counseling or social work diploma, RCMP/Bylaw training diploma or a trapping/hunting/native arts training certificate or diploma. These categories, along with the ones that were excluded will be discussed in detail in the following section on highest degrees, diplomas and certificates.

i) Variations by sex

Table 2 also highlights a gender difference between highest level of schooling. On the Metis settlements, men appear to have lower levels of education than women. A case in point is that 39.6 percent of men have less than a grade nine education in comparison to 28.7 percent of females. This situation appears to be improving somewhat as 20.1 percent of males between the ages of 15 to 24 have less than a grade nine education (opposed to 46.8 percent of males 25 years and over). This can be compared to 11.9 percent of the females aged 15 to 24 years (opposed to 35.2 percent of females 25 years and over). Of that same age cohort, females are also 3 times more likely to have some post-secondary education in comparison to males. Females who reside on the settlements also have substantially higher levels of post-secondary and University education in comparison to men. This gender difference is the exact opposite for the non-settlement population where males are more likely to have a University degree. Some possible reasons for the divergent gender difference will become clear during the examination of school drop outs. Out-migration of educated persons may also be a factor in this equation, but it is impossible to assess the significance of this with the present data. Although Table 2 presents a basic picture of the highest level of schooling, a more detailed presentation of the degrees, diplomas and certificates held by the population develops the discussion further.

ii) Types of degrees, certificates and diplomas

Higher education is an increasingly important aspect of an individual's socio-economic status. Not only the level, but the type of education a person obtains may have a direct and strong influence over factors such as employment and income. This segment will outline the types of degrees, certificates and diplomas that members of the Metis settlements hold in comparison to their neighbours in the province of Alberta. In light of the complexity of the categories and the similarity of results between Alberta and Canada, comparisons are made only with the province of Alberta.

As Table 3 shows, there are a variety of differences between the Metis and Albertan population. To begin with, there is a difference between those persons who have 'no degrees, certificates or diplomas'. The general Metis population is 15 percent more likely to have no degrees, certificates or diplomas than those persons in the province of Alberta. No marked discrepancy occurs between those who have obtained a high school diploma. Whereas 22.4 percent of Metis have obtained a grade 12 diploma, 22.2 percent of Albertans have achieved the same levels. The gap widens between the two groups only as we reach higher levels of post-secondary education. The gender distinction differs somewhat between the populations, with males in Alberta having a lower rate of graduation than females and the opposite occurring in the Metis results. Metis females, however, have an exceedingly higher rate of education in relation to Trades certificates with 28.8 percent of Metis males

Table 3. Highest Degree, Certificate or Diploma for Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Age Groups and Sex, Alberta (1991) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995)

Area, age groups and sex	Population 15 years and over	Highest Degree, Certificate or Diploma									
		No Degree, Certificate or Diploma		Secondary (High School) Graduation		Trades Certificate or Diploma		Other Non-University Certificate or Diploma		University Degree	
ALBERTA		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Population 15 yrs & over	1,918,290	749,490	39.1	426,650	22.2	240,600	12.5	240,365	12.5	261,180	13.6
Females	960,390	380,100	39.6	236,975	24.7	75,240	7.8	143,945	15.0	124,125	12.9
Males	957,895	369,390	38.6	189,680	19.8	165,355	17.3	96,420	10.1	127,325	13.3
15-24 years	371,085	182,285	49.1	127,725	34.4	17,715	4.8	25,700	6.9	17,665	4.8
Females	183,290	84,755	46.2	63,965	35.0	8,320	4.5	16,345	8.9	9,900	5.1
Males	187,790	97,525	51.9	63,765	34.0	9,395	5.0	9,355	5.0	7,755	4.1
25-44 years	900,945	235,745	26.2	212,935	23.6	136,155	15.1	151,285	16.8	164,810	18.3
Females	445,210	114,570	25.7	121,065	27.2	41,040	9.2	88,265	19.8	80,265	18.0
Males	455,735	121,170	26.6	91,875	20.2	95,115	20.9	63,020	13.8	84,540	18.6
45-64 years	436,310	191,650	43.9	63,685	14.6	67,265	15.4	50,570	11.6	63,145	14.5
Females	215,015	100,830	46.9	37,640	17.5	19,690	9.2	30,570	14.2	26,275	12.2
Males	221,295	90,820	41.0	26,045	11.8	47,575	21.5	20,000	9.0	36,850	16.7
65 years and over	209,950	139,810	66.6	22,295	10.6	19,455	9.3	12,805	6.1	15,570	7.4
Females	116,875	79,940	68.4	14,305	12.2	6,185	5.3	8,760	7.5	7,685	6.6
Males	93,070	59,870	64.3	7,990	8.6	13,270	14.3	4,045	4.4	7,895	8.5
METIS SETTLEMENTS*		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Population 15 yrs & over	2065	1114	54.0	463	22.4	455	22.0	not included		33	1.6
Females	1178	569	48.3	244	20.7	339	28.8	for reasons		26	2.2
Males	887	545	61.4	219	24.7	116	13.1	of comparability		7	0.8
15-24 years	636	440	69.2	148	23.3	47	7.4			1	0.2
Females	332	221	66.6	76	22.3	34	10.2			1	0.3
Males	304	219	72.0	72	23.4	13	4.3			-	-
25-44 years	897	268	29.9	269	30.0	303	33.8			27	3.1
Females	552	161	29.2	146	26.5	224	40.6			21	3.8
Males	315	107	34.0	123	39.1	79	25.1			6	1.9
45-64 years	376	241	64.1	38	10.1	92	24.5			5	1.3
Females	210	116	55.2	19	9.1	71	33.8			4	1.9
Males	166	125	75.3	19	11.5	21	12.7			1	0.6
65 years and over	186	165	88.7	8	4.3	13	7.0			-	-
Females	84	71	84.5	3	3.6	10	11.9			-	-
Males	102	94	92.2	5	4.9	3	2.9			-	-

Sources: Statistics Canada. Educational attainment and school attendance. Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993. 1991 Census of Canada. Catalogue number 93-328: 50-51 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data. * While there were 3119 individuals who were resident Metis members or dependents (15 years of age and over), a small number (7.5%) did not respond to certain questions regarding education. Consequently, the subtotals and percentages for the Metis subset do not add up to the total population. The Other Non-University category was not comparable for the Metis and Albertan population as a wider range of answers were deemed acceptable for the Metis subset and in many cases there were multiple responses.

with this type of education compared to 13.1 percent females (a 15.7 percentage difference). These gender differences are more attributable to non-response on the part of males, as opposed to any great strides in gender equality. There are actually 1,673 males in the population 15 years of age and over, with only 887 who responded to these questions, a response rate of 53 percent. Of the Metis women, 1,178 of 1,446 responded, a drastically different response rate of 81.5 percent. The opposite gender variations hold true for the Albertan population with a 9.2 percentage difference between males (17 percent) and females (7.8 percent). The sharp difference between attainment of a University Degree was discussed in the previous section.

Also addressed in the foregoing discussion was the category of 'Other Non-University Degrees, Certificates or Diplomas' which is not directly comparable as the Metis Settlements Census expanded this category to include educational activities that were more related to the reality of the Metis Settlements.[17] Some intriguing results were found by this decision to open the categories which presently warrants some deeper consideration. By excluding alternative forms of knowledge, the education statistics would not properly measure the actual amount of education, intelligence and wealth of expertise that in fact exists on the settlements. By measuring alternative forms of education not typically gathered by Statistics Canada, we found that there was indeed a plethora of talent and education among settlement members.

In fact, using our broader definition of education, the total number of people reporting *some form* of post-secondary education was 1,376, or 44.1 percent of the population. Of those persons, there were a total of 1,954 degrees, certificates or diplomas held (as some of these people held multiple credentials). Recall the Statistics Canada census question regarding education in the methodology section. This question focuses almost entirely on University education, with a breakdown of University education into categories such as Master's level, Dentistry, Medical school and a variety of other specialized and professional degrees. If this question had been placed on the Metis settlements census questionnaire, not only would it have remained virtually blank (with a reported 1.6 percent of the population with a University degree), but it would have focused on the *absence* of education - not the *presence* of knowledge and skills. We also may have risked alienating the respondents, thereby affecting our response rate. As Figure 5 shows, we also would have missed the actual drive towards skill acquirement that exists among settlement members.

Figure 5 puts a new face of educational attainment, showing that settlement members have actually obtained a large variety of concrete, skilled-based certificates. This graph also vividly depicts a shift in the gender differences in education that we have not seen up to this point. A note of caution should be used when looking at some of the categories. The categories from University Degree to Personal Development Course were pre-coded choices for the respondent, whereas the others were created from open-ended responses to the 'other' category. This means that the latter categories may in fact be slightly *underestimated* as they were

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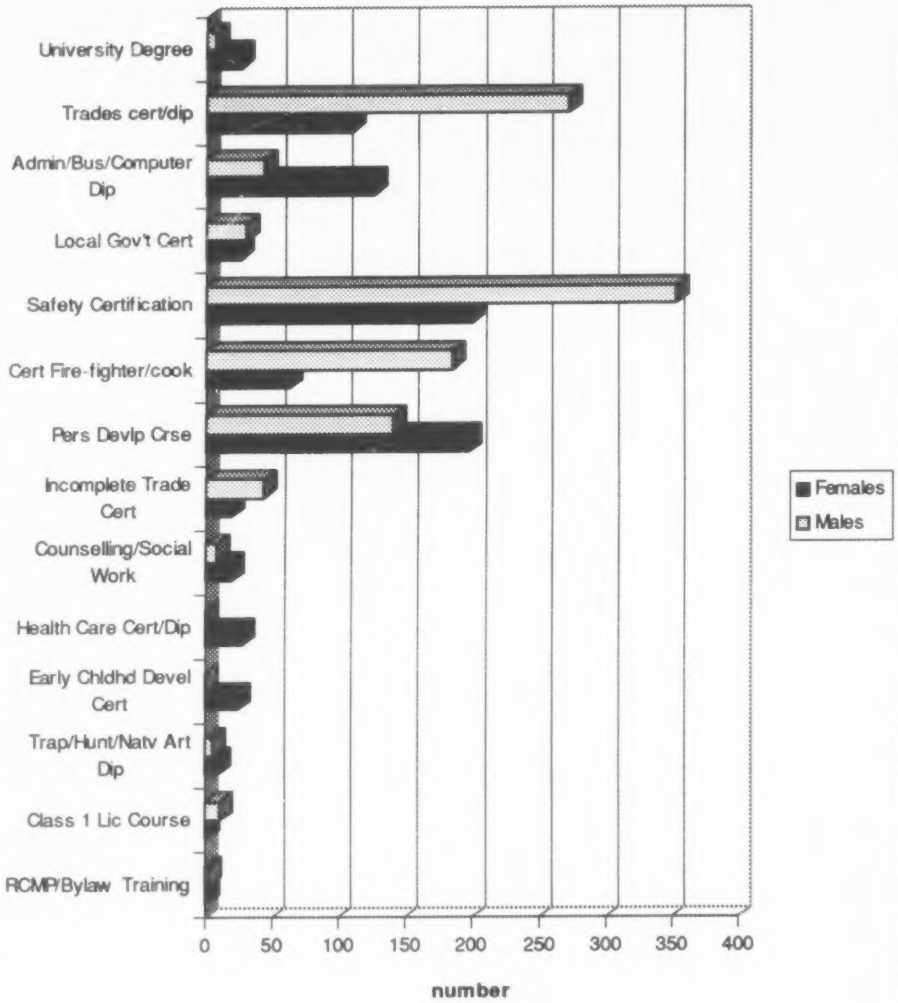
[17] Although not reported in Table 3, using our expanded definition, a basic total of 28.5 percent of all Metis members reported having some form of *non-university or non-trades* certificate or diploma.

Figure 5. Post-secondary and other educational credentials acquired for population 15 years of age and over by sex, Metis Settlements of Alberta, 1995



not formal choices, but openly left to the respondent to supplement if they felt that there were any other relevant degrees, diplomas or certificates they had obtained. Regardless, this is still a useful general tool to demonstrate the variety of educational credentials.

Although credentials such as these are not included in the Statistics Canada Census, this does not mean that they are not relevant. For example, gaining certification as a fire-fighter or becoming a Certified fire-cook has concrete economic returns for an individual. This course is extremely relevant for persons in northern Albertan communities, where many rely on the forest industry and mother nature for seasonal summer employment. The fire-fighter's and cook's course not only develop skills, but significantly increases income. When a certified fire-fighter is on the fireline, they make $8.40 an hour whereas an uncertified fire-fighter makes one dollar less an hour at $7.40/hour. The same ratio holds true for certified and uncertified fire squad bosses. Certified fire cooks also enjoy an increased income of over $10/day more, with $102.60 a day as opposed to the $92.10 a day an uncertified cook receives.[18] When employed on long fires such as those that occurred during the intense and record-breaking 1995 Alberta fire season, these differences become compounded and are indisputable. Skills such as safety certification or a class one license course may also be attractive ones for perspective employers.

Figure 5 also shows for the first time a varied gender balance with males actually surpassing females in certain types of post-secondary education. Women have higher levels of attainment in predictable areas, such as: University, Administration/business/computer diplomas, personal development, counseling/social work, health care, early childhood development, and trapping/hunting/native arts education. This is also why they appeared to have substantially higher amounts of post-secondary education in the previous discussion. Men, however, notably better women in Trades certificates (both complete and incomplete), safety certification and certified fire-fighters and fire cooks. As is examined in the next chapter on labour force, these skills will be shown to be directly related to the occupational activity of these individuals.

Settlement members also reported a large number of traditional skills. Although these skills are not obtained by formal institutionalized schooling, they are tangible and relevant to daily life and subsistence on the settlements. Arguably, training for these skills begins often as a young child and is lifelong learning passed from elders throughout the generations. Traditional skills both asked for and reported were: hunting, fishing, trapping, handicrafts, tanning and smoking meat or fish. 1856 people reported having at least one traditional skill with a total of 4927 skills reported (allowing for multiple responses). Almost 73 percent of men reported having at least one of these skills, compared to 44 percent of women. Those over 65 years of age reported the most (73.1%) and the ones reporting the least traditional skills were 15 to 24 year olds (46.8%). The age difference may be attributed to experience, but also may be a message that the transmission of the Metis traditional way of life could be slipping from its youth. Of the skills reported, hunting and fishing skills were held by most reporting a skill (1381 and 1354 persons respectively). The skills ranged from

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[18] This information was obtained from Alberta Environmental Protection.

smoking meat and fish (744 persons), trapping (737 persons), handicrafts (497 persons) to tanning (214 persons). This along with other non-university forms of continuing education, provides not only a less bleak picture of educational attainment on the settlements, but a more comprehensive view of Metis determination and practicality towards choice and type of education.

The contrast between the acquisition of educational credentials and achievement among Metis settlements and that of the general Albertan population are stupendous. These results reveal that Metis settlement residents are four times more likely than the average Albertan to have less than a grade nine education. The chasm separating the two worlds joins only with the Metis obtaining a high school diploma on the same level as their Albertan counterparts. However, because of response rates, this data should be analyzed very carefully. Few Metis carry on to attend University and of those who do, women far exceed men in doing so. This educational gender switch also deviates from the Albertan population. If more Metis settlement members are attending University than this census reported, this could be implicative of the fact that they are either forced to leave the settlement to attend school, or are not returning after they have received their degree (thereby, not enumerated). Only the Alberta population register men as receiving more Trades certificates, with the Metis having higher overall numbers in this type education. However, the comparability of the two sources of data and response rates also affect the data at this point. The Metis also excel in a variety of non-University educational skills including high numbers with certification for things such as safety, fire-fighting and personal development. Traditional skills also play an important part of daily life and existence on the settlements with three-quarters of adults reporting to have at least one of these skills. Now that the first aspect of educational participation and success for adults has been examined, we can now evaluate children's current education in tandem with school completion rates and age when individuals leave school.

2. Children's education

i) School completion

During deliberations with the Metis Settlements General Council pertaining to education, the questions of: 'are our children keeping up?' and 'how many kids are staying in school?' were asked on more than one occasion. The settlement leaders were openly concerned about the education of their children and the fact that they may be falling behind or leaving school completely. As the previous discussion has shown, the education system has not historically allowed settlement members to reach the same educational levels as other Canadians. In order to address these concerns, I will examine overall current school completion of Metis settlement youth. Following this, the discussion will turn to school drop-outs and those who are no longer attending school. This comprises a brie discussion of the age in which they left and the highest level that they may have completed.

Are children living on the Metis settlements keeping up to their Canadian counterparts in terms of educational attainment? Using Shryock and Siegal's (1976:181-182) framework to measure the "scholastic retardation rate," we can determine how many students have completed the grade that is normally expected for his or her age. The measure assumes that students advance one grade each year and defines a two-grade span to cover the variation in ages of school entrance (see Table 4).

Table 4. **Age and Grade Completed for persons aged 5 to 24 Years Old for Primary and Secondary School, Metis Settlements of Alberta, 1995**

Age & population group			Highest Grade Completed											
Age	Total pop in age group	R	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total pop 5 -24 yrs	2078	1614												
Under 7 years (5-6)	285	108	102	6										
7 years	147	137	58	75	4									
8 years	135	127	6	61	50	10								
9 years	113	107	2	10	46	44	5							
10 years	123	116			11	60	43	2						
11 years	108	102			2	11	64	24	1					
12 years	98	97				1	9	53	34					
13 years	74	70				1	2	14	30	22	1			
14 years	96	94						3	17	46	24	4		
15 years	102	95						1	3	28	46	16	1	
16 years	80	75							1	9	23	26	16	
17 years	104	87						1	-	7	17	32	25	5
18 years	89	67					1	-	2	4	16	23	18	3
over 18 years old (18-24 years old)	524	332						4	16	37	83	75	107	10

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.
* R = all persons who responded.

The line with the arrow (↔) under the highest grades completed identify the grades which may be assumed to be normal for students to have completed at each age. For example, children 8 years of age should have completed grade 2, or because of variation in ages of school entrance, grade 3. The heavy vertical lines (❘) to the right of the grade completion figures identify the ages which may be assumed to be normal for persons enrolled in that respective grade. For separate reasons, two columns were included in this table. The first reason is to allow the reader to be aware of the number of persons who did not respond in each age category to this question regarding highest level of schooling. The second reason is an important one. By including all of the numbers, the reader can decide if the scholastic retardation rate at the higher grade levels is the result of sociological factors regarding education or the methodological fact that the decline is partly due to an increasing proportion of school dropouts. In other words, if you examine the total in Table 4, there are two age groups where large discrepancies exist between total number in the population and the total who have completed a grade (i.e., responded). This is the under 7 years and 18 to 24 year age group. It is more plausible that adults did not respond for children 5 and 6 years old to this question as many may have not been enrolled or completed that grade. However, the large number of 18 (n=20) and 19 to 24 year olds (n=192) may indicate dropout rates.

By viewing Table 4, the reader may notice a disproportionately lower number of students who have completed the upper levels of the secondary grades. The number on the left hand side of the heavy vertical lines represent those students who are falling behind. The scholastic retardation rates for each age, however, provides clearer results. The equation to define the scholastic retardation rate has been altered slightly from Shryock and Siegal's original computation in order to fit our investigation.[19]

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[19] Whereas Shryock and Siegal (1976:181) define the study population by enrollment (E), I define it by the highest grade completed (C).

$\frac{C^{r}_{a}}{C_{a}} \times 100$, where

C^{r}_{a} = Children at age *a* who are in grades below those regarded as normal for age

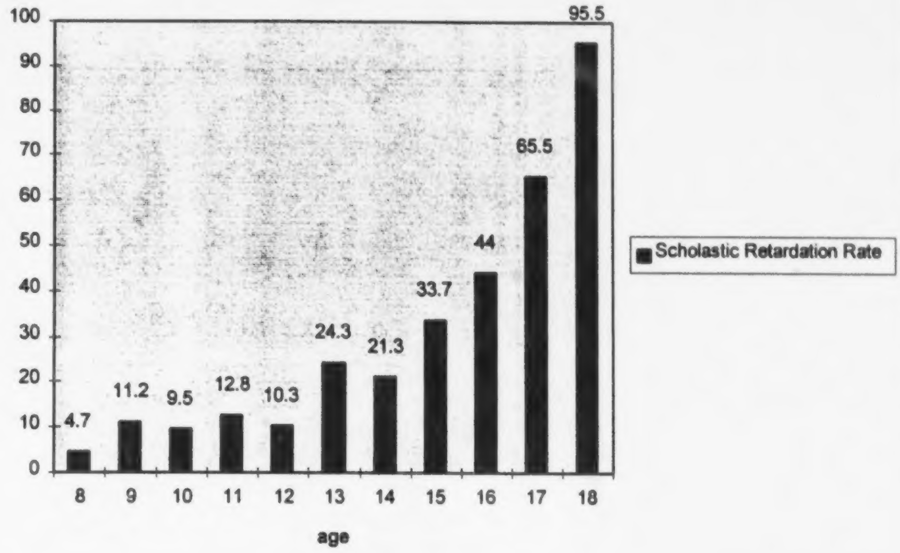
C_{a} = All children at age *a*

I will provide one example to demonstrate how the scholastic retardation rate was calculated using age 13 as an example. By viewing Table 4 and under the assumption that 13 year olds should have completed grades 7 or 8, the scholastic retardation rate at age 13 for the Metis settlements is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{1+2+14}{70} = \frac{17}{70} \times 100 = 24.3\%$$

Figure 6 presents the scholastic retardation rates for children 8 to 18 years old. The results from this figure show that the scholastic retardation rate increases by age. Whereas only 4.7 percent of 8 years olds are falling behind a grade, almost all (95.5 percent) of eighteen year olds that are still attending school and responded to this question are falling behind a grade. Children are not only falling behind in school, but many have chosen to leave, a subject addressed in the following section.

Figure 6. Scholastic Retardation Rates by Age, Ages 8 to 18, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



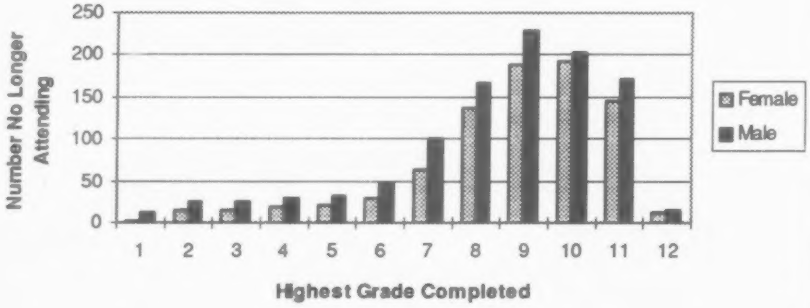
Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

ii) Age when individuals leave school

An ideal to evaluate school drop-out levels would be to discern the age that children are leaving school and before they depart, the highest grade that they successfully completed. However, the 1995 Metis Settlements Census does not provide the data to adequately address this. A meaningful way to analyze this would be to select one age cohort, of for example, 21 year olds who are currently out of school and then record the age at which this cohort completed each grade from grade school through to post-secondary education. There are available, however, other studies which address this question which can be related to the Metis settlement population.

Sunter (1993) found that a gender variance in drop out levels is present in the general Canadian population. Analyzing Statistics Canada data from the 1991 School Leavers Survey, Sunter found that of the 18 to 20 year olds that were no longer attending school, 24 percent were males opposed to 16 percent for females. As detected beforehand, around 30 percent of the Metis settlement members have less than a grade 9 education, with males exceeding females in this regard. One way to evaluate the Metis situation is by the less appropriate way of examining the 1995 Metis Settlements Census data of the mean age of drop out of all adults who are no longer attending school.[20] Although a particular age cohort is not used, some general results are interesting to examine (see figure 7).

Figure 7. Number of Individuals No Longer Attending School by Sex and Highest Grade of School Completed, Metis Settlements of Alberta, 1995



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[20] This method is less appropriate and meaningful as it include everyone, including 60 year olds who left school 50 years ago. It does not address the issues of today's youth.

After reaching a climax of drop-outs at grade 9, the numbers generally drop most likely due *not* to the fact that more children choose to stay in school. The sparse numbers of students enrolled in grade 11 and 12 do not support this assumption. Rather, the number of drop-outs decrease for the sheer fact that few students are left to either drop-out or stay in school. Put another way, the bulk of the children have already exited the school stage by grade 9.

The average age that the entire adult Metis population that are no longer attending school chose to leave is 15.5 years (with a standard deviation of 1.7 years). When examining Figure 7, it is extremely apparent that the numbers begin to skyrocket first at grade 7, with a total of 166 Metis settlements members who left school at around 14.7 years. The numbers only continue to rise as we travel through grades 8 and 9 with children all leaving around the age of 15 years (with a standard deviation of approximately 1 year). As grade 10 and 11 approach, the age of leaving school increases slightly to around 16 years and reaches a pinnacle of 18 years for students who chose to leave grade 12. Sunter (1993) reported that the average age of Canadian youth that left school was 2 years higher, at the age of 17 years for both non-completers and graduates (1993:45). The Canadian School Leavers Survey also found that 79 percent of students graduated with a certificate or diploma with only 21 percent who were non-completers (Sunter, 1993: 44-45). This demonstrates that not only does it appear that historically less Metis tend to graduate from high school, but that they drop-out at a substantially earlier age than Canadian children.

This may respond to the Metis Settlements General Council's concerns: 'are our children keeping up?' and 'how many kids are staying in school?'. The answers are far more complex than the brief description given here, but this is a starting point of a general discussion on children's educational participation and success. To directly answer these questions risks posing additional ones. In reality, the answers are more complex than a simple yes or no. The children who are still in school generally appear to be keeping up to the Canadian standard of schooling until they reach their double digit years. However, there is a meager number of children who actually remain in school in the higher grades. After many reach their teenage years, they appear to be falling behind a grade. In reality, there also appear to be a large number of children who have left school, thereby, their failure rate is not being reflected in the attendance numbers. Large numbers of adult Metis settlement members left the school system around the age of 15 years, many before even completing grade 9.

During the 1936 Ewing Commission, Commissioner Douglas solicited Bishop Breynat's opinion on the education of the Metis people. The Bishop responded with the comment: "He needs just a little help - I think just until they are 13 or 14 years old probably". Chairman Ewing decisively retorted with the response: "I agree with you there, too much would be a bad thing" (Purich, 1988:140). Sixty years later, in 1996, the substance of these damaging and unknowingly prophetic comments persist. But, as the sections on labour force activity and income demonstrate, too much education is indeed *not* a bad thing. The reader may be left at this point with full knowledge of the educational disparities between the Metis settlement population and others, but an urge to know why these gaps exist.

Although the reasons are complex, a literature review of native education provides a springboard for basic understanding of possible determinants.

3. Determinants of education

While undertaking a literature review of native education, three main explanations for differences in native success and participation levels presented themselves very distinctly. The reasons for the differences between non-Metis and Metis education can be channeled into three general categories: *socio-economic status*, *experience and culture* and *language*.

i) Socio-economic status

In "The Non-People", McKay (1972) points to the living conditions as the culprit of lower education levels and high drop-out rates among Metis. Although writing in the now historical period of 1972, McKay utters a phrase that this author heard expressed throughout the literature and by one of the settlement members, when education and drop-out rates were being discussed:

> ...the situation in which students go to schools, poorly clothed, poorly fed and from homes of which they are ashamed. These children coming under the ridicule of their fellow students rapidly prefer no education to the experience of constant discrimination.
>
> (McKay, 1972: 23)

For, McKay (1972) also shows obvious disdain for the fact that many students were removed from their homes to be educated because the living conditions were said to be 'not conducive for study.' Yet, these conditions ironically were deemed by the same government as perfectly conducive for living. Sunter (1993) also notes that the socio-economic factor of parent's education and family situation had a significant influence on the probability of school non-completion. She found that a larger proportion of drop-outs also had mothers and fathers who had not completed high school. In addition, she cites her examination, along with others (Radwanski, 1987) to support the hypothesis that "students whose family socio-economic status is low appear to be at greater risk of dropping out" (Sunter, 1993:45). Hourie (1991) places a spin on this argument by blaming Metis poverty itself on the removal of educational and linguistic guarantees of 1870 along with lost bases of hunting, commerce and a promised land base. In this sense then, Hourie argues that the loss of educational autonomy was a contributing factor in the current poverty of the Metis people. Socio-economic status is also firmly attached to the personal experience of the children themselves.

ii) Experience and culture

A Metis author, Adams (1975) focuses on the gap in culture and experience between the reality of the community life and the cirriculum that is taught to Metis students. He argues that "the white middle-class values inherent in the classroom instruction mean very little to native students" (1975: 155). This argument could (and has) been extended to include the lack of connection between the white middle-class value structure and a variety of other Canadians such as lower-income or other Canadians who may also find the cirriculum irrelevant. Adams (1975) extends the argument to create a critique of the very foundations of the entire white educational institution. Although his book reads somewhat like a Metis manifesto at points (complete with language involving "comrades" and "the white-supremacist oppressors,") he makes some extremely valid points from a much needed and unique Metis point of view. The main crux of his argument positions blame on both the colonizing white man and the make-up of the school system itself for the failure of Metis and native students in the educational system.

> The Metis and Indians with their supposed stupidity and laziness, their so-called lack of industry and ambition, and their apathy to a "progressive" school system are not the problem. The school systematically and meticulously conditions natives to a state of inferiorization and colonization...it teaches the language, literature, and history of the colonizer and thus forces the students to deny their language, culture and essential being.
>
> (Adams, 1975: 154)

Adams' argument is reminiscent of those propagated by dependency theorists who argue that underdevelopment is rooted in the expansion of the capitalist system through colonization. Although, as Peters and Rosenberg (1992) respond, this rationalization should be used with caution for two reasons. The first is the geographic location of the internal colony of the reserves.

> While reserves may exhibit many of the characteristics of Third World underdevelopment, they are found within wealthy countries which are able to ameliorate some aspects of Indian poverty with transfer payments and various social programs.
>
> (Peters and Rosenberg, 1992: 11)

Forthcoming results found during the discussion on income support Peters and Rosenberg's statement regarding the reliance of Metis settlement members on government transfer payments. The second argument against this way mode of thinking is that it often creates a supplicating victim, which in many cases denies the strong leadership and power that exist in native communities. Adams indeed talks of the 'accommodating native' as well. The authors claim that this viewpoint which Adams' possesses "overplays the role of Indians as passive and exploited people with little scope for action to determine their own fates" (Peters and Rosenberg, 1992: 12).

Gardner (1991) is another author that deliberates with a similarity to Adams. She blames the failure of missionary and governmental educational institutions for their failure "to provide a meaningful program based on Indian reality" (1991:124). In a similar vein, Rodrigues (1991) discusses the difference between a "formal" versus a "cultural" school environment. By interpreting the behaviours of skipping classes, being late or dropping out as 'deviant,' the school system thrusts the 'Western' formal education system upon native children. Kirkness (1973) also supports the point that individual student experience contributes to problems within the educational system. Kirkness cites the differences in home training as a liability for Metis children entering the school system. This results in different perspectives, behaviors and expectations of the children. As a result, the student must effectively 'unlearn' some behaviours and relearn new things in order to cope. They enter school at a marked disadvantage and may continue to be discouraged because of this and subsequently drop-out. Historically, Kirkness agrees that many of the materials taught to Metis children reflect the majority culture and are therefore unknown and foreign to Metis children. This presents an added task for children. In "The Struggle for Metis Recognition: Education and Survival," Hourie (1991) asserts that there is a fundamental difference between the way Metis and other Canadians view education itself.

> Canada, as we know it today, has an education policy that is deeply entrenched in land, taxation and citizenship. This policy is foreign and alien to the Metis concept of caring and sharing.
>
> (Hourie, 1991: 133)

There is also a tenuous line that exists between cultural differences and open discrimination.

McKay points to culture as a defining obstacle for Metis education and states that "to remove a person from his culture to educate him within the confines of another culture is directly stating his culture to be invalid and wrong" (1972: 23). It is difficult to dispute this point. Frideres (1988) links discrimination against native students who attempt to attend school away from the community as a major factor in lower marks and early drop-outs.

> ...Native students in integrated schools are exposed daily to direct discrimination by teachers and other students. In the long term, racism results in a serious and permanent distortion of the Native children's self-image. The more short-term effects of discrimination include lower marks and a tendency to drop out at an early age.
>
> (Frideres, 1988: 181)

The results presented in the previous section only serve to support Frideres' assertion. Another direct form of discrimination against Native students was the prohibition of native language use in schools.

iii) Language

During this literature review, language was essentially mentioned by all authors as a major factor in the educational difficulties of students. Historically, native students were forbidden and subsequently punished for speaking in their native language at school (Adams, 1975: 156). As a result, students encountered yet another hurdle, this time in the form of a second language. English was the sole language of instruction and as Kirkwood (1991) reminds us, no English as a second language instruction was employed by teachers thereby leaving disoriented students to fall behind. The data regarding language collected during the Metis Settlements Census shows that of the entire population, 14 percent speak Cree most often. This language difference, however, varies by age with 48.2 percent of the population over 54 years of age speaking Cree compared to only 7.7 percent of those under 25 years of age. The question was: "What language do you speak most often?" It should be noted that this question is somewhat misleading, as a large number of individuals stated that they spoke both English and Cree equally. Regardless of the exact number, it appears that these students may be speaking Cree at home or a mix of English and Cree. This would result in an added challenge for both students and teachers when these children enter school.

Hourie (1991) also cites language as a major contributing factor for the differences between Metis and non-Metis education levels. The Metis way of learning depends more on oral and visual processes, not the written language. This contrast causes conflict for Metis children who may find it hard to adapt. Adams

(1975) mirrors comments earlier by stating that there is a fine line between the promotion of certain ideals and racism. He positions language as the main perpetrator of this racism. He also charges that language is "the most powerful device used in colonizing native peoples" (1991: 157). Saigaonkar (1989), from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development admits that the non-use of Native languages in schools was an impediment to their education. As a result, he asserts that the Canadian government has moved toward supporting native language and cultural programs in schools. As well, textbooks in Native languages are also gradually replacing English textbooks in various communities. Kirkwood (1991) also suggest some concrete ways to adapt school curricula to include the life experiences of Metis and native children. Something as simple as changing mathematical problems to include relevant examples such as using a 'pound of fish' or a 'drum of gasoline' as examples could be instituted.

If education is the foundation of a community, then clearly these results show that the very basis of the Metis settlements differs substantially from other non-settlement societies. The educational attainment levels for residents of the Metis settlements fall far below provincial and national achievement levels. Metis persons are four times more likely to have less than a grade nine education and almost eight times less likely to have a University Degree than non-settlement residents. The type of continuing education that Metis obtain also differs from their neighbours. Although the residents of this native community show lower levels of University education, they have a plethora of alternative forms of education. In fact, almost half of the adult population reported some form of post-secondary education. When credentials such as safety certification, certified firefigher or cook or traditional skills are included, Metis settlement residents exhibit a higher number of tangible skills and education.

The open concern of Metis settlement members regarding their children's education has proven to be a very real consideration. With the calculation of scholastic retardation rates, we find that children are indeed falling behind in school. As children reach their teenage years they appear not only to be falling behind in school, but to be leaving school entirely. In fact, the mean age of the adult population who left school is 15.5 years, with the largest amount of school leavers in grade nine.

There are a variety of explanations for these disparities in educational success, completion and participation. Various other researchers have concluded that socio-economic status, experience and culture and language influence native children's education. Metis settlement children are faced with the multiple jeopardies of a lower socio-economic situation coupled with the fact that they come from a different culture, way of life and often speak a different language at home. Their experience is that of the Metis settlement community, not the white-middle class world of educational institutions and curriculum. Since historically, teachers and schools have not realized nor accommodated the challenges that these children must encounter, many either fall behind or leave the seemingly futile world of education altogether. As adults, many continue to gain skills from non-University courses. However, do these skills translate into employability and eventually higher incomes? Are these practical skills and knowledge being recognized within and outside of the settlements? Do certain types of education only serve to typecast persons into certain kinds of occupations and industries? Or, conversely, does the lack of education force these people into predestined career paths and subsequent lower income levels? We are fortunate enough to have the data of both labour force characteristics and income sources and levels to build more layers of understanding to this complex area of socio-economic status.

VI. The labour force

There are a variety of methods and a collection of theories that a researcher can use to analyze labour force data. The following will be a descriptive analysis without the aid of one guiding, theoretical set of spectacles to view, and arguably restrict, the results. The labour force will be analyzed by examining *six central aspects* which exist under the auspices of individual characteristics (such as age, sex and education) and in the context of macro-sociological factors (which include settlement characteristics and the local economy). The Metis Settlements of Alberta will be compared to various other non-settlement populations depending on the availability of data. These comparison areas include: Canada, Alberta and selected economic regions in Alberta.[21] Two sections will encompass the six central areas. The first, covering **labour force activity,** will include: 1) *participation, employment and unemployment rates*, 2) *full and part-time employment*, 3) *seasonality of the work cycle*; and, 4) *employment location.* The second area will concern **labour force characteristics**, including: 1) the *occupation* an individual is employed in; and, 2) the *industry* in which an individual is employed.[22] Obviously labour force activity and characteristics are overlapping categories and many aspects of each area will incidentally bleed into the separate discussions.

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[21] Ideally, this analysis would position each of the eight Metis Settlement's against non-settlement, non-Metis comparison communities in each of their geographic and economic areas. However, because of the geographical space between the settlements, this would require the use of various comparison communities and a rather extensive and detailed discussion which is beyond the purpose of this effort.

In order to take a holistic approach to examine Metis Settlement labour force activity in comparison to non-Settlement residents in Alberta and Canada, this researcher cannot be given to one particular theory. Indeed, none of the labour force theories themselves are mutually exclusive. A comprehensive approach involves the blending of the micro and macro aspects that affect the labour market. In other words, individual characteristics (such as age, sex, education, family structure) all exist within the context of social, political, economic and cultural contexts. Individual characteristics are located within the former macro-sociological frameworks in tandem with the micro-sociological world of the individual. There is a reciprocal (and often parallel) nature of the individual's relationship between the institutional forces and her or his own actions and presuppositions.

Peters and Rosenberg (1992) conducted an extensive and critical literature review which analyzed theories and strategies of the labour market participation of native reserve residents. They detected four adjoining theories. The first model focuses on individual characteristics, which will be explored in this analysis. This model includes economic theories, sociological studies, the culture of poverty and modernization theory. The second framework is the dual economy perspective (including segmentation and human capital theories). The dependency theory model is the third relevant theoretical framework followed by Marxist approaches to native economic development. After their comprehensive analysis, Peters and Rosenberg (1992) concluded, however, that:

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[22] Other aspects that would be interesting to explore are participation in subsistence activities (which was touched upon briefly in the education section under traditional skills), work history and

> ...it seems premature to specify a model of Indian labour force attachment....What is required instead, is an exploration of what patterns exist and how they are related to individual attributes and reserve and local economies.
>
> (Peters and Rosenberg, 1992: 33)

It is both under the influence and with the confidence of the aforementioned researchers' extensive literature review that I will heed these words and along with the restrictions of available data, provide an explorative analysis embodying the individual and the world in which they exist.

1. Labour force activity

A rudimentary basis to interpret the socio-economic standing of a population is to examine its labour force activity levels and rates. Four standard areas provide a comprehensive picture of this activity: 1) labour force *employment, unemployment and participation rates*, 2) the *proportion of full and part-time workers*, 3) the *seasonality of the work cycle*; and, 4) the *location of their place of employment*. The latter is far more pertinent with respect to the Metis Settlement population and as a result will only be briefly touched upon in this regard. The major findings are examined first by contrasting the differences between the selected individual characteristics of age and sex. This is followed by a brief contrast between the macro-sociological matters of population, geography and economy. The results will

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occupational mobility.

be highlighted with comparisons generated from other studies and general discussion throughout concerning possible reasons why the rates and numbers exist as they do.

a. Unemployment and participation rates

This section outlines the employment, unemployment and labour force participation levels of the Metis Settlements in comparison to local economic regions, Alberta and Canada. After gaining a basic understanding of how each statistic is calculated, a comparison is made between populations, by gender, by age and finally against the larger factors of population, geographic location and local economy.

Out of the many statistics that demographers and economists produce, the one that is most often highlighted is the unemployment rate. It is the volatile rate that the economic market anticipates to influence trading or the value of the dollar. It is the rate that the federal and provincial government representatives either proudly present as a fulfillment of an election promise, or conversely condemn their opponents for the failure to stimulate the economy and create jobs. It is the rate that various interest groups use to represent the economic reality of their members. It is the rate that people can read in the newspaper and discuss amongst themselves in the coffee shop. But when this rate is reduced from percentages to numbers to finally the face of the unemployed, we realize that it is far more complex than the single magic 'rate' that we are often presented with. Before examining the rates of labour activity, a few cautionary flags must be waved to ensure that the reality of the unemployed transcends the boundaries of this often enchanting rate.

A widely debated area within labour force research focuses on the very definition and calculation of the unemployment rate itself. The standard way to obtain the rate, and the rate used in Table 5, is to take the number of persons who are unemployed and divide them by the total number of individuals in the labour force. The labour force is defined as both those individuals who are employed and those who are listed as unemployed. To be considered unemployed, the respondent must have answered that they were actively looking for work within the last month. By restricting the definition of the unemployed in this way, it becomes apparent that this does not present a holistic picture of the entire unemployed population. This calculation excludes persons who have given up and are no longer looking for work, otherwise known as 'discouraged workers.' The extent to which these discouraged workers may exist in particular populations is investigated after the analysis of the rates are complete. The participation rate is the proportion of the population that is active in the labour force, that is, those persons who are either employed or unemployed.

Table 5 presents the data for employment, unemployment, out of labour force and participation levels of Canada, Alberta and the Metis Settlements of Alberta. In June of 1995 within Canada, Alberta shows slightly lower overall unemployment rates (7.1 percent) than Canada as a whole (at 9 percent). Participation rates are also noticeably higher for Alberta with a 73.1 percentage rate compared to 66.3 percent for Canada. The prosperity of this province, however, does not extend to all Albertans. The Metis Settlements have an unemployment rate of 21.7 percent which is three times higher than Alberta. They also do not measure up well against the overall unemployment rates of economic regions surrounding the settlements. The settlements of Elizabeth, Fishing Lake, Buffalo Lake and Kikino are located in the Ft. McMurray-Camrose economic region where the unemployment rate of 8.3 percent is slightly higher than the provincial average of 7.1 percent. The settlements of Paddle Prairie, Peavine, Gift Lake and East Prairie also substantially exceed the 7.8 percent unemployment rate of the Grande Prairie-Peace river economic region in which they are located.

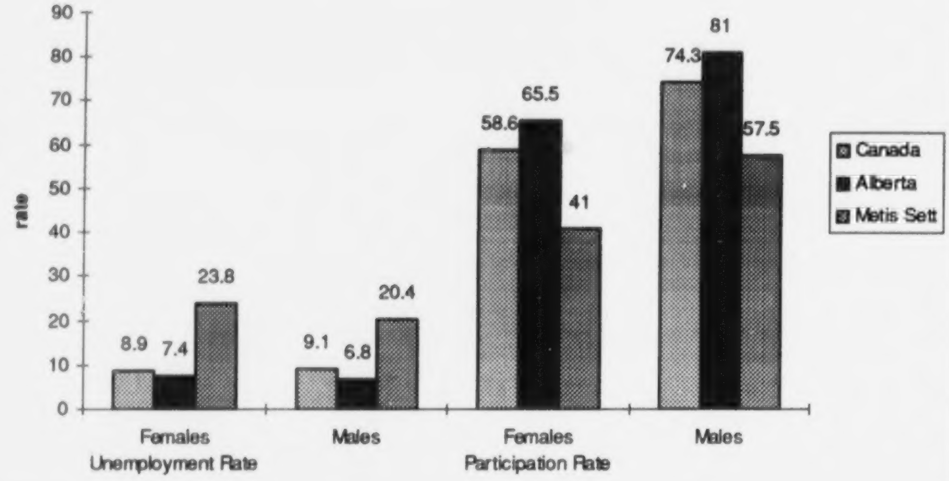
i) Variations by sex

As both Table 5 and Figure 8 demonstrate, there is a contrast in the employment levels, unemployment rates and participation rates across the sexes. For all three populations and in virtually all cases, women experience higher unemployment rates and lower labour force participation rates than their male counterparts. Females residing on the Metis Settlements experience a 23.8 percent unemployment rate and have a 41 percent participation rate in comparison to male members who have 20.4 percent and 57.5 percent respectively. This gender variation also exists for Alberta and Canada albeit with less deviation in the unemployment rate between sexes but a marked difference in lower female labour force participation. This finding has been supported by various studies that investigated both native and non-native populations.

Clatworthy (1981) found substantially lower participation rates for native females and statistically significant variations between males and females for the Metis and Non-Status native population in Winnipeg (1981:43). A study conducted

After reaching a climax of drop-outs at grade 9, the numbers generally drop most likely due *not* to the fact that more children choose to stay in school. The sparse labour force participation rate for women has steadily increased. In fact, Chawla (1990) found that of the G-7 countries, Canada experienced the largest increase in female labour force participation of 20 percent between the years of 1965 and 1987 (1990:63). Gerber (1990) cites various studies (Frideres, 1988:165, Hedican, 1986b:61) which suggest that native women are less active than men in the labour force in comparison to the non-native labour force. This argument holds true to a certain degree, but low participation rates on the Metis settlements for both sexes should not be overlooked. Gerber (1990) also supports the latter assertion as her

Figure 8. Unemployment and participation rates of adult population by sex, Canada, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

analysis found that the labour force participation rate for natives was 15 percentage points below the general population and that the female participation rate was twenty

Table 7. **Labour Force Activity for Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Age Groups and Sex, Canada, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995**

Age Groups & Sex	*Area*	*Total Adult Population*	*Employed*	*Unemployed*	*Out of Labour Force*	*Unemployment Rate*	*Participation Rate*
Total Adult Population							
BOTH SEXES	*CAN*	23,014,000	13,881,000	1,380,000	7,753,000	9.0	66.3
	AB	2,066,000	1,404,000	107,000	555,000	7.1	73.1
	MET	3119	1218	337	1564*	21.7	49.9
FEMALES	*CAN*	11,718,000	6,254,000	613,000	4,851,000	8.9	58.6
	AB	1,035,000	628,000	50,000	357,000	7.4	65.5
	MET	1446	452	141	853	23.8	41.0
MALES	*CAN*	11,296,000	7,627,000	767,000	2,903,000	9.1	74.3
	AB	1,031,000	777,000	56,000	198,000	6.8	81.0
	MET	1673	766	196	711	20.4	57.5
15-24 years							
BOTH SEXES	*CAN*	3,944,000	2,305,000	408,000	1,231,000	15.1	68.8
	AB	377,000	242,000	34,000	102,000	12.2	73.2
	MET	899	239	108	552	31.1	38.6
FEMALES	*CAN*	1,940,000	1,106,000	182,000	652,000	14.1	66.4
	AB	186,000	113,000	16,000	58,000	12.6	69.4
	MET	423	77	55	291	41.7	31.2
MALES	*CAN*	2,004,000	1,199,000	226,000	579,000	15.9	71.1
	AB	191,000	129,000	18,000	44,000	12.0	77.0
	MET	476	162	53	261	24.7	45.2
25-44 years							
BOTH SEXES	*CAN*	9,663,000	7,546,000	678,000	1,439,000	8.2	85.1
	AB	933,000	779,000	50,000	104,000	6.0	89.0
	MET	1398	752	173	473	18.7	66.2
FEMALES	*CAN*	4,831,000	3,445,000	305,000	1,081,000	8.1	77.6
	AB	462,000	353,000	25,000	84,000	6.5	81.8
	MET	660	291	66	303	18.5	54.1
MALES	*CAN*	4,832,000	4,101,000	373,000	358,000	8.3	92.6
	AB	471,000	426,000	25,000	20,000	5.6	95.8
	MET	738	461	107	170	18.8	77.0
45-64 years							
BOTH SEXES	*CAN*	6,095,000	3,836,000	285,000	1,975,000	6.9	67.6
	AB	510,000	360,000	21,000	128,000	5.6	74.7
	MET	603	220	55	328	20.0	45.6
FEMALES	*CAN*	3,062,000	1,644,000	124,000	1,294,000	7.0	57.7
	AB	251,000	156,000	9,000	86,000	5.6	65.7
	MET	272	83	20	169	19.4	37.9
MALES	*CAN*	3,034,000	2,192,000	161,000	681,000	6.8	77.6
	AB	259,000	204,000	12,000	43,000	5.6	83.4
	MET	331	137	35	159	20.4	52.0
65 years & over							
BOTH SEXES	*CAN*	3,312,000	193,000	9,000	3,109,000	4.6	6.1
	AB	246,000	24,000	-	220,000	-	9.8
	MET	219	7	1	211	12.5	3.7
FEMALES	*CAN*	1,885,000	59,000	-	1,824,000	-	3.1
	AB	136,000	6,000	-	129,000	-	4.4
	MET	91	1	-	90	-	1.2
MALES	*CAN*	1,426,000	135,000	7,000	1,285,000	4.7	10.0
	AB	110,000	17,000	-	91,000	-	15.5
	MET	128	6	1	121	14.7	5.5

NOTE: Numbers signify labour force activity in the past week, i.e., all those persons who were employed in the past week at the time of the survey/census. * Out of labour force for the Metis settlements includes a minority of persons who did not respond to questions regarding employment in the past 5 years, past 12 months and the past week.
Source: Statistics Canada. The Labour Force, June 1995. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, 1995. Catalogue number 71-001, Vol. 51, No. 6: B-7, B-12 Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

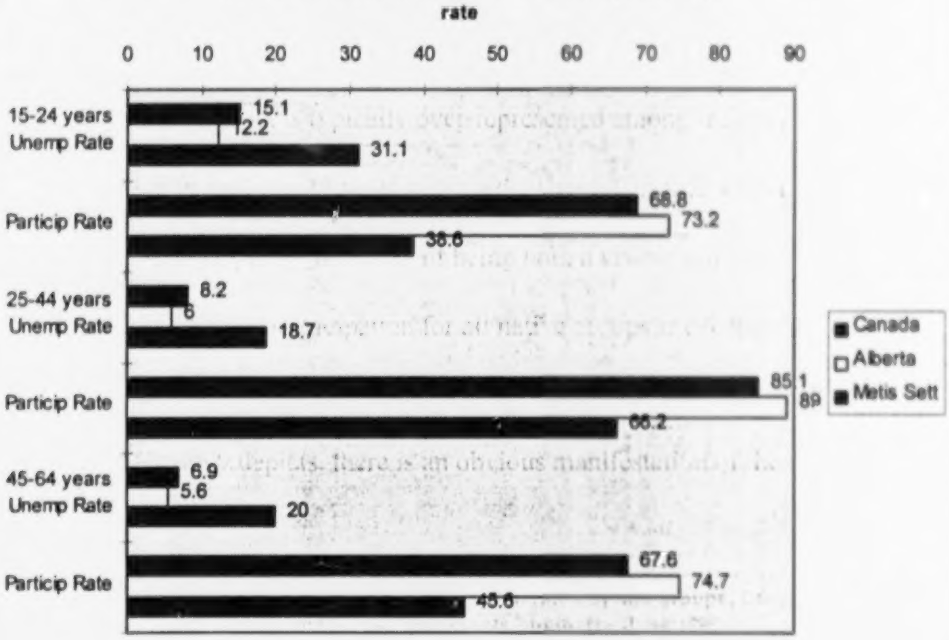
percentage points lower than that of males (1990:76). Peters and Rosenberg (1992) reported that there was little information regarding the existence of sex discrimination in employment on reserves. They did however, find evidence from one study (Ryan, 1978) that suggested that "women leave the reserve because their economic needs are given low priority in the reserve community" (in Peters and Rosenberg, 1992: 19). They also cited a study by Nicholson (1987:123), who maintained that "considerable discrimination on the basis of sex exists in many aboriginal communities" (in Peters and Rosenberg, 1992:19). An example given to demonstrate this discrimination was that women held fewer power positions on band councils. In his 1991 study of the government and politics of the Alberta Metis Settlements, Pocklington reported that thirty-three of the councilors were male and seven were female (85 percent versus 18 percent) (1991:46). Although this may appear unbalanced at first, Pocklington adds that "[t]his proportion of female elected officials is comparatively high for Canadian governments" (1991: 46). Gender is not the only individual characteristic that exposes the differences between the employment levels of the Metis settlements and other populations. There also appears to be a strong relation between patterns of unemployment and participation by age.

ii) Variations by age

Figure 9 graphically displays the variations in the unemployment and participation rates between age groups. By examining the three working age groups of 15 to 24, 24 to 44 and 45 to 64, sharp contrasts can be uncovered both among the three age groups and between the Metis settlement population and the general population.

The age group that is typically over-represented among the unemployed, is the younger population between 15 to 24 years old. They often face what Gerber (1990) terms the 'multiple jeopardy' dilemma of being both a visible minority and native.[22] The fact that labour force participation for all native groups is exceptionally low among younger adults adds age as another source of disadvantage or multiple jeopardy. As Figure 9 depicts, there is an obvious manifestation of the employment

Figure 9. Unemployment and participation rates by age groups, Canada, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

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[22] Gerber's central 'multiple jeopardy' hypothesis argues that being a *visible minority*, *female* and specifically *native* is a setback.

disparities between age groups on the Metis Settlements. For those persons who are between the ages of 15 to 24, the participation rate of 38.6 percent and the unemployment rate of 31.1 percent are shockingly similar. This is in sharp contrast to young adults in Canada and Alberta who both hold over double the labour force participation rates of Metis youth at 68.8 percent and 73.2 percent respectively. The unemployment rates are also half that of Metis youth with 15.1 for Canada and 12.2 for Alberta. Peters and Rosenberg (1992) cite various similar studies that have also found high patterns of unemployment for native youth (Clatworthy, 1981, Clatworthy & Hull, 1983, Nicholson and Mcmillian, 1986). Possible reasons for these higher levels of unemployment and lower participation rates may rest in factors such as lower education levels and less work experience.

Metis females in the 15 to 24 year age group also experience double the unemployment (41.7 percent) of males (24.7 percent). The analysis of occupation and seasonal labour fluctuations may address part of this striking finding. Many of the employment opportunities that exist are manual seasonal labour such as construction, fire-fighting and general labourers. Young females may be excluded from these opportunities and therefore, be left unemployed.

Figure 9 furthermore shows that between-population disparities still exist for 25 to 44 year olds. This group is also typically the group that achieves the maximum level of employment, showing the highest labour force participation rate. Alberta boasts the highest participation rate of 89 percent followed by the national average of 85.1 percent with the Metis settlement rate of 66.2 percent trailing significantly behind. Even in this, the highest employed age group, only two-thirds of the Metis population are either employed or actively seeking work. For the general population, participation rates crest at the ages of 25 to 44 years in tandem to lower unemployment rates. For example, whereas 95.8 percent of Alberta males in this age group are labour force participants, only 77 percent of Metis males are included in this category. There are vital implications of the effect that the various age disparities may have on future labour force activity.

Recalling the previous section outlining the population distribution of the Metis settlements, it is not hard to extrapolate that with the current young age structure of the settlements, there is a strong likelihood of substantial growth in the potential labour force in the near future. Within the component on population comparisons, the discussion of dependency ratios was also documented. There are direct consequences for the substantially higher labour market dependency ratio of 313.1 percent for the Metis settlements in stark comparison to 104.3 percent for Alberta. This finding implies that with the ever burgeoning potential labour force population, the settlements must not only achieve similar labour force participation rates as Alberta, but that they must exceed to levels much higher than the general, non-native population. At current levels, there appears to be a formidable goal to accomplish.

iii) Discouraged workers

When the unemployment rates were presented to the Metis Settlement General Council, the surprise came not at how ***high*** the levels were, but rather, how ***low*** they appeared to certain council members. One councilor said that a better representation would be to drive through a Settlement during the middle of the day during the week and just count how many cars are parked in the driveway and how many people are home. This councilor, indeed, had a well-founded argument. One way to address his concern is to examine the topic of discouraged workers. The calculation and interpretation of the results themselves were contemplated in the beginning paragraphs of this section. The individuals who have not yet been discussed to this point are those persons in Table 7 who are 'Out of the Labour Force', or those who are potentially discouraged workers.

Discouraged workers, or as they are often termed ' the hidden unemployed' are defined by Akyeampong (1989) as:

> ...people who want to work and yet are not job-hunting because they believe suitable employment is not available.
>
> (Akyeampong, 1989:64)

According to Akyeampong (1989), these workers may be discouraged for four main reasons. The first point is the fact there may be a shortage of work in either their locale or in their occupational field. Secondly, there may be some perceived form of discrimination against them such as age, race, sex or religion. This issue has been addressed in various sections throughout this thesis but also harkens back to the 'multiple jeopardy' hypothesis brought forth by Gerber (1990). Another reason may be a lack of necessary skills, training or work experience. Finally, some may suffer from chronic illness or disability.

Analyzing results from the *Labour Force Survey* and the *Survey of Job Opportunities* from March of 1979, 1983 and 1989, Akyeampong found five major determinants or pre-requisites for the formation of the discouraged worker. The first influence was age where he found an over-representation of discouraged workers of persons aged 15 to 24 years and older persons over 45 years. This could also help to explain the low participation rate and high out of labour force number of Metis males, and especially Metis females. In total there were 522 settlement residents out of 899 persons aged 15 to 24 who were out of the labour force. This leaves us with the startling realization that 58 percent of 15 to 24 year olds on the Metis settlements are not employed and are not seeking work. It should also be noted that many 15 to 17 year olds may typically not be working. Considering once again, the swelling young Metis population who will soon enter the labour force, this finding holds particular relevance. The second influence for the discouraged worker is gender. Akyeampong found that the split was equal for both groups except when female numbers exceeded male numbers during the 1989 recession (1989:66). He also found that overall, discouraged workers tended to be less educated.

> Many of the young discouraged workers are recent high school drop-outs, with limited labour market assets.
>
> (Akyeampong, 1989:66)

In the previous section on education, we noted the high numbers of Metis high-school drop-outs and those with minimal post-secondary education. Location was the fourth primary aspect in the life of a discouraged worker. Discouraged workers appear to be often concentrated in areas of high unemployment. "In 1989, about one-third resided in the Atlantic provinces" (Akyeampong, 1989:66). The final factor involved job opportunities. Economic growth appeared to effect the types of jobs wanted by workers. According to the 1980 and 1989 labour force statistics analyzed by Cohen (1991), the majority of the unemployed (almost 80 percent) continued to desire and seek full-time work. Since this type of work is largely unavailable, this could add the discouragement of an employment seeker.

The portrait of the discouraged worker is disturbingly close to the faces that we see living on the Metis settlements. Of the adult population aged 15 to 64 (n=2,900), 1353, or 47 percent are out of the labour force. Of the Albertan population in this same age category, only 18.4 percent are out of the labour force. In light of this, there appears to exist a large portion of the Metis settlement labour force that are the 'hidden unemployed'. But, if you distrust these numbers, take the advice of the council member. Just drive through a settlement during the middle of the day in the middle of the week and count the cars.

b) Full-time and part-time work

Another standard method used to analyze labour force data is to examine the proportion of workers who are employed either full-time or part-time. Table 6 compares these rates for the province of Alberta and the Metis settlements. Results are examined by contrasting the two populations and by sex and age to show that meaningful differences both between the two areas and the demographic characteristics are present.

Gerber (1990) found that of adult native Canadians, only half are employed full-time and year round in comparison to the Canadian population. The Metis settlements show approximately ten percent less persons who are employed full-time (75.5 percent) when compared to Alberta (84.1 percent). This number also reflects upon the Metis part-time workers who are a marginal 3.6 percent higher at 19.5 percent, than the Albertan population that rests at 15.9 percent part-time workers overall. Although these findings place the Metis workers at a level 25 percent higher than that reported by Gerber, it is necessary to remember that this number represents only those who are currently employed.

i) Variations by sex

Traditionally, men are over-represented in the full-time employment category with women leading in the area of part-time work. The following analysis shows this to be true only for the Albertan population, with the Metis community challenging this regularity. In Figure 10, along with Table 6, the percentages for female and male full and part-time work were calculated with the denominator as the total of those who were either employed full or part-time (i.e., the total *employed* population, not

Table 9. Number and Percentage of Full-time and Part-time Employment of Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Sex and Age, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995

Area and age group		*Both Sexes*				*Females*				*Males*			
		Full-time		*Part-time*		*Full-time*		*Part-time*		*Full-time*		*Part-time*	
	Total	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
ALBERTA	**1,404,000**	1,181,000	84.1	223,000	15.9	468,000	74.6	159,000	25.4	713,000	91.8	64,000	8.2
15 - 24 years	**242,000**	162,000	66.9	80,000	33.1	71,000	11.3	41,000	6.5	90,000	11.6	39,000	5.0
25 - 44 years	**779,000**	686,000	88.1	93,000	11.9	272,000	43.4	81,000	12.9	413,000	53.2	13,000	1.7
45 years & over	**384,000**	334,000	87.0	50,000	13.0	125,000	19.9	37,000	5.9	209,000	26.9	12,000	1.5
METIS SETTLEMENTS	**1218***	919	75.5	237	19.5	332	88.8	42	11.2	587	80.2	145	19.8
15 - 24 years	**239**	161	67.4	62	25.9	49	13.1	23	6.2	112	15.3	39	5.3
25 - 44 years	**752**	588	78.2	129	17.2	223	59.6	3	0.8	365	49.9	76	10.4
45 years & over	**227**	170	74.9	46	20.3	60	16.0	16	4.3	110	15.1	30	4.1

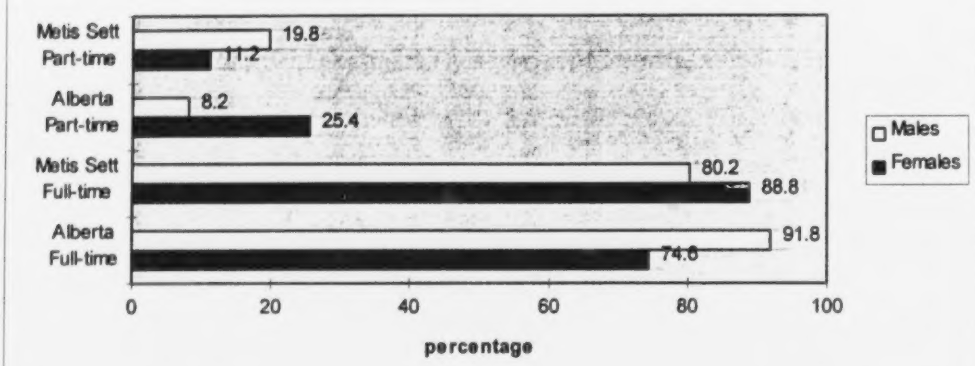
Note: Full-time employment consists of persons who usually work 30 hours or more per week; part-time employment consists of all other persons who usually work less than 30 hours per week.

* This number represents all individuals who were employed in the last week. Since 62 persons did not respond to the question regarding full and part-time work, the subtotals and percentages for the Metis Settlements do not add up to the total population employed in the last week. The percentages for both areas, however, are calculated with the total number employed as the denominator.

Source: Statistics Canada. The Labour Force, June 1995. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, 1995. Catalogue number 71-001, Vol. 51, No. 6: B-33

1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Figure 10. Percentage employed full and part-time by sex, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

the total adult population).[23] Figure 10 shows that for the province of Alberta, 91.8 percent of working adult males were employed full-time in comparison to only three-quarters of the female population in this category. Women in Alberta are also three times more likely than men to hold a part-time position. On the Metis Settlements, the gender position is reversed with more women actually work full-time (88.8 percent of women who are employed) than the 80.2 percent of males who work full-time. Males on the settlements are also twice as likely to employed part-time (19.8 percent) than females (11.2 percent). This reversal may be evidence of the employment opportunities that are available within the Metis employment and economic community.

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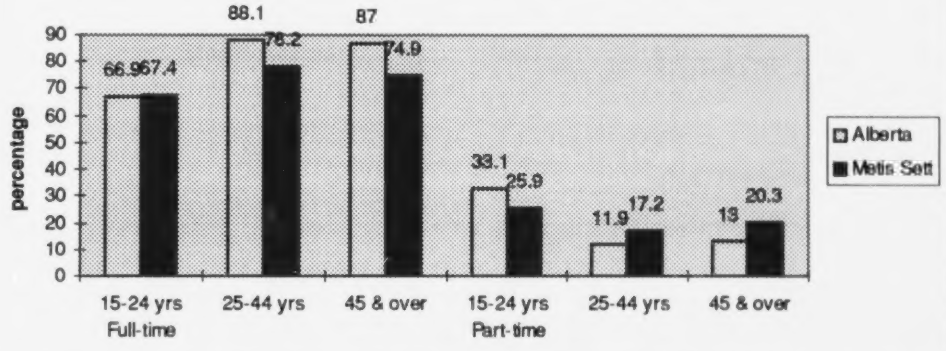
[23] Therefore, the numbers should be read for example as: Of the total employed Alberta adult male population, 91.8 percent of Albertan males were working full-time.

ii) Variations by age

Age is a significant determinant in deciding whether a person may be employed full-time or part-time. As Figure 11 shows, similar to the unemployment rates, youth between the ages of 15 to 24 years of age are the most prevalent part-time workers across both population groups.

Figure 11. Percentage employed full and part-time by age groups, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Alberta boasts a larger proportion of full-time workers in all age groups, except for a minimal difference between 15 to 24 year olds. Alberta also has more part-time workers between the age of 15 to 24 than the Metis settlements. In all other age groups, however, the Metis have more members who are working part-time in comparison to the provincial average.

Another significant difference touched upon in the previous section on sex, is the variation between male part-time workers in the two populations. Whereas, 1.7 percent of the 25 to 44 years old male Albertan population work part-time, a sizable proportion of 10.4 percent of Metis males find themselves in this category. Metis males over the age of 45 are also almost 3 times more likely than there Albertan counterparts to work part-time.

These results show that for both populations, males are over-represented as full-time workers in comparison to females. There is also a high concentration of part-time workers in the younger age group of 15 to 24 years. One notable difference is also apparent in that older Metis males are disproportionately higher employed in part-time work than the average male Albertan.

c) Seasonality of work cycle

Seasonality of the workforce is another factor that may influence labour force activity and characteristics. Since the labour force statistics for Canada, Alberta and the Metis Settlements were all taken in the summer month of June, the issue of seasonality plays a considerable role. Findings that support this proposition will be detailed first. Finally, results will support this assertion by showing that only half of the Metis settlement members are employed year round.

Gower (1991) provides proof of the existence of a seasonal variation in the employment cycle by calculating the variation among the four highest and lowest quartiles of unemployment and seasonal occupational categories. Gower found that between the years of 1985 to 1990 in Canada, the fourth quartile occupation, indeed the quartile that most Metis settlement members occupy, produced the followed results.[24]

> Not only did fourth quartile occupations suffer the highest annual average unemployment rates, they also bore a disproportionate share of seasonal unemployment.
>
> (Gower, 1991:17)

The seasonal variation rates for the fourth quartile was 0.33 opposed to 0.15 for the first quartile population (Gower, 1991: 17). The first quartile population is the one that has lower unemployment rates and are the primary occupations. This number means that the job holders in the fourth quartile position are twice as likely to be affected by seasonal variation than those who hold primary jobs in the first quartile. Peters, Rosenberg and Halseth (1991) also found that Metis and Non-Status natives in Ontario are also employed in a majority of seasonal labour, with 32.7 percent of respondents indicating that their work was seasonal (1991: 29).

Results from the Metis Settlements Census of Alberta found that only 52 percent of the population who were employed in the last year were typically employed year-round. Of those, females were slightly more likely (55.4 percent) to be employed year-round than males (50 percent). The highest proportion of workers, 1509 out of 1794 employed in the last year, or 84 percent were employed during June to August, with the second highest amount in the Spring, followed by Fall and

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[24] Metis occupation will be discussed in the next section.

Winter.[25] The 1995 forest fire season in Alberta was a record breaking one, with intense fires that climaxed at the end of May and beginning of June. As the next section demonstrates, many Metis settlement members are employed in the seasonal forest industry and this increased demand for fire-fighters, fire-cooks, squad bosses and general fire-related labour would have substantially affected labour force participation.

d) Job location

The final topic in this discussion of the labour force is job location. Although the issue of job location is relevant for all Canadians, it holds particular importance for Metis settlement members. Findings show that there are both gender and age differences between Metis settlement members who work on, off or a combination of both on and off the settlement. Underlying these statistics is the key dilemma of whether it is possible for settlement members to remain within the community for employment.

Nicholson and Macmillan (1986) found that off-reserve natives appear to have a have a higher employment rate in comparison to those who remain on the reserve (1986:52-53). In light of this, job location may fit yet another piece in understanding the complex puzzle of Metis settlement labour force activity. As in former sections, this is examined by sex and age in order to draw comparisons between the population as a whole.

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[25] Respondents were asked to report all seasons in which they were employed. Consequently, because of these multiple response categories, numbers exceede the total population employed in the past 12 months. In addition, there may have been a slight overlap between the seasons where someone may have worked only a month out of the category titled "Fall" for example, but were mostly employed in the Summer. Seasons were categorized as the following: Spring is defined as March to May, Summer

i) Variations by sex

More females work on the settlement (61.3 percent) than males (49 percent) with an almost equal amount who work off of the settlement. Males, however, appear to be more flexible to work both on and off the community (17.4 percent) than females (0.1 percent). Family responsibilities may require more women to remain within the community. In addition, many males appear to work in occupational and industry sectors that require them to travel from the community to seek employment.

ii) Variations by age

Figure 12 displays Metis settlement member's job location by age group.[26] The obvious finding from this graph is that persons 45 and over are the most likely to be employed *on* or arguably, *by* the Settlement association. This is followed by those aged 25 to 44 and finally younger adults. Adults over 25 are also more likely to not only work on the settlement, but to also have lower amounts working off of the settlement. Fifteen to 24 year olds deviated from other age groups by having a

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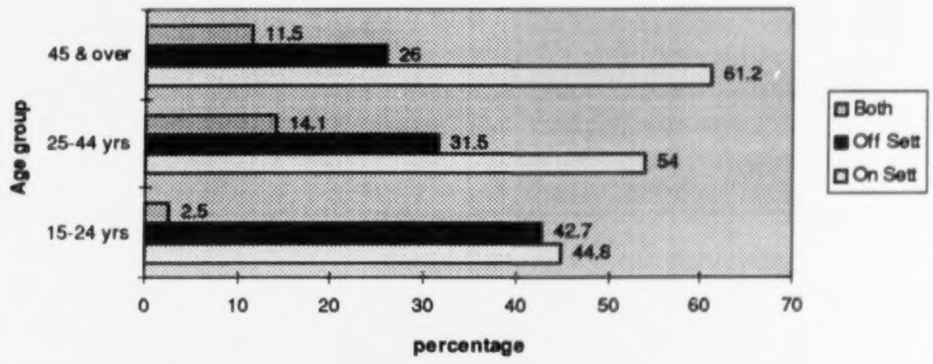
is defined as June to August, Fall is defined as September to November and Winter is defined as December to February.

Figure 12. Job location of currently employed adult population by age, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data

virtually equal amount who worked both on and off of the settlement. This may be due to the increased ease of mobility of the young labour force. That is, they may not have children, spouses or families and subsequently be more mobile. There also may be a distinct lack of opportunities for them on the settlement.

A study cited by Loxley (1986) (in Peters and Rosenberg, 1992:10) found that considerable favoritism may exist between reserve employers.

> Bands function as major employers and band staff may become elite since they link the community with external resources.
>
> (Peters and Rosenberg, 1992:10)

This favoritism may be one more reason why youth have difficulty entering the 'elite' labour force circles and opportunities. The Metis Settlement Census found that 53 percent of the currently employed adult population were employed in some way by the Settlement or related Settlement associations. Therefore, Loxley's finding can be the Settlement or related Settlement associations. Therefore, Loxley's finding can be considered extremely relevant in light of the substantial amount of jobs that the settlements themselves administer.

In their literature review of native labour force activity, Peters and Rosenberg (1992) unearthed an overwhelming number of studies concluding that most natives aspired to be able to live and work in their own community (Ellis, 1978; Lithman, 1984:48; McCaskill, 1979; Stanbury, 1975:40-44). Indeed, most individuals native and non-native would find it difficult to leave their family and community to seek employment. Natives, however, appear to be faced with a much larger prospect and need to abandon their community for both education and employment.

e) Geographic location and culture of settlements

Geographical location and culture coupled with the fact that the population dwells on a settlement or a reserve may also be an important factor influencing employment rates. As the beginning of the thesis showed, the Metis settlements themselves are located in rural and generally more northern remote areas within the province of Alberta. How much does this affect the employment opportunities and sustain a high unemployment rate? Have a large number of 'employable' people been forced to leave the settlement for work? How much does labour market opportunity influence these results? Are there constraints beyond geographic location that exist such as the culture of the community in relation to employment itself? Unfortunately, this section may pose more questions than it answers.

Results seem to consistently find that the labour force participation rates are lower and the unemployment rates higher for natives in comparison to non-natives. These facts also hold true throughout the past 20 years. Peters and Rosenberg (1992) reported that in 1976, the labour force participation rate for natives was 40 percent in relation to the national rate of 60 percent (1992:v). They also reported similar differences between the unemployment rate with the native rate at 18 percent compared to the national 8 percent (1992:v). The results remained much the same for the 1981 census. The 1986 census showed a slight difference of employment rates with 31.4 percent for natives compared to 59.6 for all Canadians (1992: v). An interesting fact that Gerber found was that of all the native groups analyzed, the Metis population had the highest participation rate of 66.4 percent (Gerber. 1990: 76). However, this could be attributed more to the fact that many of these persons were living off-reserve/settlement in comparison to the rural/reserve dwellers of other natives and Inuit. Hagey et. al. (1989) analyzed data from the 1981 and 1986 Canadian census. They found that of natives who were in the labour force, they were twice as likely to be unemployed as non-natives (1989:11). Are these findings attributable to geographic location or the culture of native communities themselves?

Ideally, the influence of labour market opportunity could be answered by controlling for labour market opportunity by comparing the Metis settlement population to non-Metis living in comparison communities. These communities would be roughly similar in size and located within the sub-regions associated with the settlements. Armstrong (1990) argues that this method is the only way to control for these differences.

> Presumably, persons living in comparison communities are subject to labour market opportunities more similar to those available to Indians on-reserve than are other Canadians. This being the case, differential effects of labour market opportunity on labour force activity are controlled to some degree, although reserves place constraints beyond those of location alone.
>
> (Armstrong, 1990:22)

For the purposes of this thesis, each settlement will not be compared with a community, however, if this were undertaken the results could indeed begin to answer some the questions that have been posed. Logically, it can be assumed that geographical location does have some influence on labour market opportunity. Culture may also influence employment.

Peters and Rosenberg (1992) cite a variety of studies which found not only an incompatibility between native culture and employment, but also a resistance that works against economic development (Lewis, 1968; Honigmann, 1965; James, 1972; McGregor, 1946; Zenter, 1972). Indeed, the very motives and attitudes toward the labour force may differ between natives and non-natives. There are, however, also studies which contradict this point directly finding occupational prestige and place of work preference are identical for both natives and their non-native counterparts (Smith, 1975). There appears to be contradictory answers and no straightforward conclusion as to whether cultural attributes affect native employment. Community appears to be an important base in that many do not want tampered or influenced. As a result, Peters and Rosenberg (1992) aptly reply that: "it appears that Indian cultural values may affect types rather than levels of economic development" (1992: 6, original emphasis).

Labour force activity within the Metis settlements census is a complex area to analyze. There are differences between the Metis settlements and non-settlement populations, discrepancies by sex and differences by age groups. When compared with the province of Alberta, there are variations by employment, unemployment, participation and out of labour force workers. The settlements show a larger proportion of workers that are either unemployed or out of the labour force in comparison to the provincial and national statistics. The large number of workers who are out of the labour force may be attributed to the high of number of discouraged workers concentrated on the settlements. Differences between full and part-time work are also present with the younger population in both populations being over-represented in part-time work. A surprising finding situated more Metis males than females working part-time which contradicts provincial and traditional work force patterns. The seasonality of the work cycle is also more prominent on the settlements. Finally, job and geographic location and the culture of the Metis communities themselves may also influence labour force activity. Labour force activity may also be influenced by the occupation or industry that a worker is employed in. This proposition is the next topic to be realized in the ensuing section.

2. Occupation

There is a interdependent and often corresponding relationship between labour force activity and occupation. The occupation that one chooses influences one's employability, participation in the labour force, whether the work is full or part-time, seasonality and the location of the job. Conversely, labour market opportunities may equally influence an individual's occupation. In other words, by virtue of the availability of only certain jobs that are, for example, seasonal, part-time or located on or near the community, one's occupational predilection may be predetermined. This section compares the *occupations* that are held for Metis settlement members to the general population in the province of Alberta. The findings will also be *contrasted by disparities in sex* among occupational categories and to *additional studies* that have been conducted which examine native occupational characteristics.

Table 7. Occupation of Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Sex, Number and Percentage of Entire Labour Force Population, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995 [27]

Occupation Categories	*Both Sexes*				*Females*				*Males*			
	Alberta		*Metis Settlements*		*Alberta*		*Metis Settlements*		*Alberta*		*Metis Settlements*	
	number	*%*	*number*	*%*	*number*	*%*	*number*	*%*	*number*	*%*	*number*	*%*
All Occupations	17,948,000	99.9	2,300	100.1	8,270,000	100.0	957	100.0	9,523,000	100.1	1,343	100.0
Managerial and Admin	4,705,000	26.4	195	8.5	2,373,000	28.7	110	11.5	2,332,000	24.5	85	6.3
Clerical	2,197,000	12.4	76	3.3	1,757,000	21.3	62	6.5	440,000	4.6	14	1.0
Natural Sciences	600,000	3.4	38	1.7	128,000	1.6	14	1.5	472,000	5.0	24	1.8
Medicine and Health	746,000	4.2	18	0.8	592,000	7.2	18	1.9	154,000	1.6	-	-
Social Science/Relgion/Teaching	1,015,000	5.7	154	6.7	631,000	7.6	114	11.9	383,000	4.1	40	3.0
Artistic and Recreational	327,000	1.8	12	0.5	139,000	1.7	8	0.8	188,000	2.0	4	0.3
Sales and Service	3,620,000	20.3	417	18.1	1,901,000	23.0	344	35.9	1,719,000	18.1	73	5.4
Transportation	588,000	3.3	385	16.7	59,000	0.7	41	4.3	528,000	5.5	344	25.6
Construction	891,000	5.0	374	16.3	27,000	0.3	131	13.7	864,000	9.1	243	18.1
Primary Industry Occupations	755,000	4.2	540	23.5	162,000	2.0	100	10.4	593,000	6.2	440	32.8
Process/Mach/Manu/Fabr/ Mat Handling	2,172,000	12.2	91	4.0	461,000	5.6	15	1.6	1,711,000	18.0	76	5.7
Other	179,000	1.0	-	-	41,000	0.5	-	-	138,000	1.5	-	-

Source: Statistics Canada. The Labour Force, June 1995. Catalogue No. 71-001, Vol. 51, No. 6. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, July 1995: Table 4, B-29

1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

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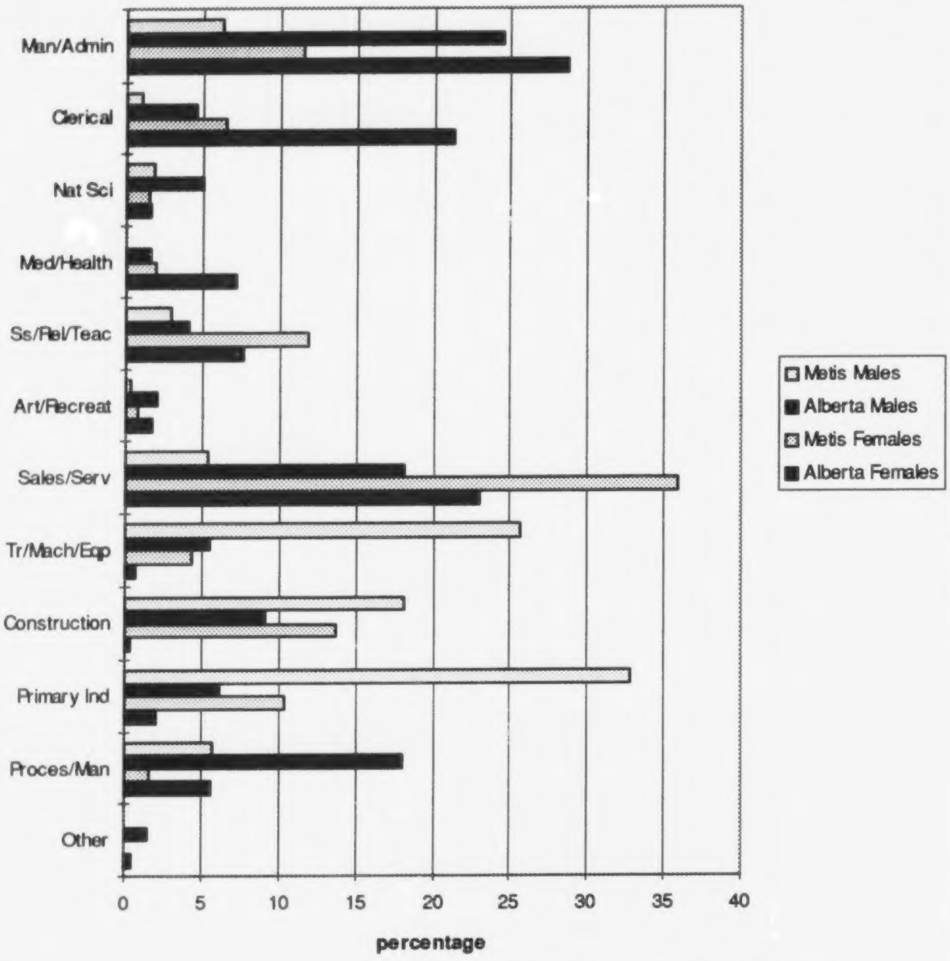
[27] Rates for both Alberta and the Metis Settlements are Unadjusted. The data for the Alberta population classifies currently unemployed persons according to the occupation of their last job (see footnote 1, p. B-29, source listed above). The data for the Metis Settlements includes all of those who had been employed at any time in the previous five years. For those currently employed, the table describes their current job. For those employed at some point in the previous year or five years, the data describes their most recent job. By using a longer time-frame for this table, we obtain a more typical and comprehensive picture of the occupational profiles.

The Alberta data from The Labour Force Survey coded occupations using the 1980 Standard Occupational Classification. Catalogue No. 12-565E Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, 1981. The data for the 1995 Metis Settlements Census coded occupations using: National Occupational Classification: Index of Titles. Catalogue No. MP53-25/2-1993E Ottawa, ON: Canada Communication Group. Managerial & Admin=Managerial & other professional occupations. Clerical= clerical occupations such as stenographic, bookkeping and account-recording positions. Natural Sciences=occupations such as engineering & mathematics. Medicine & Health =physicians, dentists, veterinarians, nursing, pharmacists. Social Science, Religion & Teaching = occupations in religion, university, elementary, secondary & other teaching related occupations. Within this, social sciences=occupations in social work, law & jurisprudence, library & other related fields such as economists, psychologist, sociologists. Artistic and Recreational= occupation in fine and commercial art, performing, audio-visual arts, writing, sports, recreation. Sales & Service positions are self-explanatory and = things such as commodities,apparel, food and beverage & accommodation services. Transportation =transport equipment operating occupations such as air, railway water and motor transport. Construction trades occupations= jobs such as: excavating, grading, paving, electrical power and other construction trades occupations. Primary Industry Occupations= a) farming, horticultural & animal husbandry, b) fishing & trapping, c) forestry & logging, d) mining and quarrying including oil & gas field occupations. The abbreviation Proccess/Mach/Manuf/Fabr/Mat= occupations in: Processing, Machining, Manufacturing, Fabricating and Material Handling. The Other category = occupations not classified elsewhere. For a detailed breakdown of occupational categories, refer to Statistics Canada occupational guides: Standard Occupational Classification and the National Occupational Classification.

Figure 13. Percentage of adult population employed by Occupation and Sex, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

The incongruity between the Metis settlement and Albertan population exists once again in the area of occupation. As Table 7 and Figure 13 show, two distinct differences are apparent. The first division that exists between the populations is the disparate numbers between the occupational categories themselves. This is directly connected to the second contrast between the sexes that is shown in the graph above.

The separation between occupational categories of the two populations is clear. Albertans greatly exceed Metis in the occupational categories of : Managerial and Administration, Clerical, Natural Sciences, Medicine and Health and Artistic and Recreation. The most extreme variation of these is in the Clerical occupations where Albertans are almost four times as likely (12.4 percent) than Metis settlement residents (at 3.3 percent) to occupy this position. The Managerial and Administration category also showed strong variation with Albertans being three times more likely (at 26.4 percent) than Metis settlements residents (at 8.5 percent) to hold this job. The stronger differences, however, occurred where the Metis settlement numbers exceeded that of Albertans.

Metis settlement dwellers show greater proportions than Albertans in the occupational categories of: Sales and Service, Transportation, Construction, Primary Industry Occupations and Processing, Machining, Manufacturing, Fabricating and Material Handling. A stark contrast exists in the area of Primary Industry Occupations (farming, forestry and logging, fishing and trapping, mining, and oil and gas). Metis settlement residents are five and a half times more likely than the general provincial population to hold a job in this area (23.5 percent and 4.2 percent respectively). This is followed closely by the area of Transportation where Metis are once again five times more likely (at 16.7 percent) than their provincial cohort (at 3.3 percent) to have this occupation. In the areas of construction and processing/machining/manufacturing/fabricating/material handling, a Metis settlement resident would be three times more likely than a resident in Alberta to hold this position. Among these strong comparisons, the unequal distribution between the sexes also influences the numbers.

The sexual division of labour by occupation is somewhat predictable for both populations. The magnitude of the division, however, is far more pronounced within certain occupational categories on the Metis settlements. In both populations, women are notably over-represented in the occupational groupings of: Clerical, Medicine and Health, Social Sciences/Religion/Teaching and Sales and Service. They also have a marginally higher participation in the Managerial and Administration category with the difference being more pronounced within the Metis community. Metis women are most prevalent in occupations related to Sales and Service, at a startling 35.9 percent (whereas 23 percent of women in Alberta are in these occupations). Albertan women are also more likely than Metis women to work in Medicine or Health occupations. An interesting difference occurs in the area of construction where although the proportion of men is higher for both populations, the gap is far less on the Metis settlements (18.1 percent for men and 13.7 for women in comparison with Alberta that shows 9.1 percent for men and 0.3 percent for women). In the Primary Industry Occupations, at 10.4 percent, Metis women show that they are also five times more likely than the average female in Alberta (at 2 percent) to be employed in this area. Gerber (1990) found similar sexual division of labour results for Canadian Metis as found on the Alberta settlements but concludes that for natives overall, the gender segregation remains the same.

> ...both Metis men and women are more involved in primary occupations than are Inuit men, while men of all three native groups are over-represented in construction.....while more marked in some respects, gender segregation in employment among natives is similar to that experienced by Canadians as a whole.
>
> (Gerber, 1990:76)

The results are striking when comparing the male labour force as well. As previously stated, males are over-represented in primary and manual labour occupations across both populations. However, the *extent* to which they are over-represented is extreme within the Metis community. For the occupational category of Primary Industry Occupation, a total of 32.8 percent of Metis men are employed in comparison to 6.2 percent of men of Alberta. Within the area of this primary industry, the majority of the workers are employed as general labourers in logging and forestry (137 persons) or as fire-fighters (135 persons). In the previous section, the busy June 1995 fire season was discussed. This most certainly had a strong influence on the employment levels and occupations. Smaller numbers were within the area of general oil field labourers (57 persons) and farmers (68 persons). Metis males are also almost five times more likely to be employed in the area of Transportation than are Albertan males and twice as likely to be employed in Construction occupations. This pattern exists not only on the Metis settlements of Alberta.

There are a plethora of researchers who have found similar results among other native and Metis communities. These researchers have found similar numbers of natives in the primary and labour occupations. In an attempt to explain this, various theories addressing 'segmentation' or a 'dual labour market' have been used in order to place this occupational dilemma into an appropriate framework.

Hull (1983) argues that labour market segmentation exists for certain minorities. That is, that there is a secondary labour market where many natives are employed in which "occupations are characterized by lower wages, higher turnover rates, lower educational requirements, and less opportunity for long term advancement" (Hull, 1983:32). Clatworthy (1981) also subscribes to the dual labour market theory approach.

> The vast majority of urban and rural natives appear to be 'stuck' in a secondary labour market; that is, occupations which are lower paying, have low skill requirements, and present little opportunity for advancement.
>
> (Clatworthy, 1981: 6)

Stabler (1989) investigated labour force characteristics for natives in the Northwest Territories and found that for all age, sex and education categories, there was a reduced number of native workers in the upper echelon occupations. The only exception existed for those natives who had a University education. In analyzing a 1985 survey by the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Peters, Rosenberg and Halseth (1991) found the similar result of over-representation in the primary occupations. In fact, they found that Metis exceeded their Ontario counterparts almost four times in this regard (1991:29). Most of these workers, they concluded, were in a occupation of logging and labouring occupations which were lower skill and lower wage levels (1991:29). Why is this analysis of the concentration of Metis settlement members in certain occupations important?

Besides increasing understanding of the socio-economic life of a Metis settlement member in Alberta, occupation can also be directly linked to labour force activity.

The occupation that a person is employed in may also affect their labour market opportunities. By analyzing the *Labour Force Survey* from 1980 to 1989, Gower (1991) found that unemployment rates vary widely by occupation. As you may recall from the previous discussion, Gower clustered the groups into four quartiles according to their unemployment rates. The first quartile contained the workers with the lowest unemployment rate occupations (average unemployment rate of 3.2 percent) (Gower, 1991: 16). These persons held largely professional and technical occupations such as: management, architecture/engineering and social sciences. The fourth quartile, which contained the highest unemployment rates contained mostly manual workers (average unemployment rate of 14 percent) (Gower, 1991:16). Persons in the fourth quartile held occupations such as: clerical, sales, construction and other types of skilled and semi-skilled manual labour. In other words:

> The quarter of the labour force with the worst unemployment situation (quartile 4) had nearly one-half of the national unemployment. At the other extreme, the best-off quarter (quartile 1) had about one-tenth of the total unemployment.
>
> (Gower, 1991:16)

Since a majority of Metis settlement residents also hold these 'fourth quartile' jobs, this finding holds particular importance. This shows that occupation itself can also be viewed as a contributing factor in the higher unemployment, seasonal volatility and lack of labour market opportunities. Directly related to the discussion of occupation is the industry that an individual is employed in.

3. Industry

The contrast between the Metis settlements and the province of Alberta found in occupational characteristics predictably exists within the area of industry. Although findings are generally similar to the previous discussion on occupation, certain surprises regarding the Metis settlements labour force characteristics are once again unraveled in this section. The comparison between the two populations will be briefly chronicled with an integrated discussion regarding possible reasons for the statistics.

As Table 8 and Figure 14 show, there are distinct differences between the industrial makeup of the work-force in both populations. The percentages for traits of industry show that Alberta exceeds Metis in all but four categories. However, there are only three industrial categories that Alberta notably achieves higher numbers: Mining, Retail Trade and Business Services. Alberta also doubles the presence of workers in the three industries of: Health and Social Services, Accommodation and Food and Other Services. The striking comparisons are found in the large concentration of Metis persons in three major industries is graphically depicted in Figure 14.

Table 8. **Industry of employed population 15 Years of Age and Over, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta (June 1995)**

Industry	*Alberta*		*Metis Settlements*	
	number	*%*	*number*	*%*
All Industries	1,404,300	100.2✳	2303	99.9
Agriculture	96,800	6.9	124	5.4
Fishing & Trapping	n/a✱	n/a	6	0.3
Logging & Forestry	6,400	0.5	440	19.1
Mining	79,500	5.7	1	0.0
Manufacturing	106,100	7.6	209	9.1
Construction	105,000	7.5	288	12.5
Transportation & Storage	65,500	4.7	56	2.4
Communication & Utilities	44,000	3.1	8	0.3
Wholesale Trade	68,900	4.9	-	-
Retail Trade	165,000	11.8	106	4.6
Finance & Insurance	36,900	2.6	7	0.3
Real Estate & Ins. Agents	27,200	1.9	-	-
Business Services	88,200	6.3	20	0.9
Public Administration	73,400	5.2	610	26.5
Education	109,700	7.8	164	7.1
Health & Social Services	118,700	8.5	81	3.5
Accommodation & Food	92,300	6.6	76	3.3
Other Service	120,700	8.6	107	4.6

Source: Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development. Labour Force Statistics, June 1995. Edmonton, AB: Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development, 1995

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

This source was used as opposed to Statistics Canada's June 1995 Labour Force Survey because it presented more detailed Industry categories.

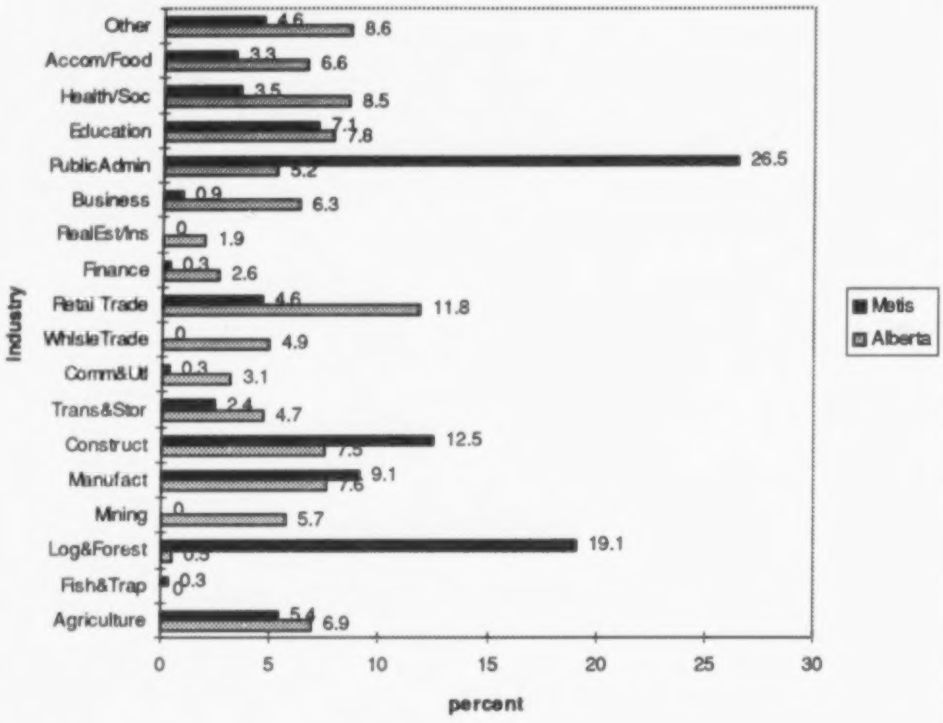
For detailed description of the Industrial classification codes, refer to Statistics Canada *1980 Standard Industrial Classification* manual, Catalogue No. 12-501.

✱ As per footnote in table: "n/a - Estimates less than 2,000 are not released by Statistics Canada".

✳ Due to rounding, totals may not add up to 100 percent.

Rates for both Alberta and the Metis Settlements are unadjusted rates.

Figure 14. Percentage of employed by industry, Alberta and Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



The first notable distinction is the high amount of persons employed within the public administration sector. Within this industrial category there are occupations such as 'general municipal labourer.' In fact, the majority of persons in this industrial group are of this classification (237 persons classified as *labourer - municipal*). These include many persons (mostly youth) who are employed as general labourers by the Settlement office, on a summer employment program or under Job Core. These jobs are mostly under the initiative of federally and provincially government provided funding. Various studies of native reserves have found similar levels of high public sector employment. In 1975, Driben and Trudeau found that: "of several bands in

Northern Ontario....more than ninety percent of the income received by these bands came from the federal government" (Driben and Trudeau, 1983:9-10 in Peters and Rosenberg, 1992:11). Other researchers also support both the presence and the necessity of federally funded programs, projects and initiatives for natives (Stabler and Howe, 1990; Lithman, 1984; Wien, 1986).

> ....government decisions on funding levels, on the distribution of such funds to welfare programs, make-work projects, and long term economic development, and on education and training investments will be the most important determinants of the levels of poverty and under-employment among Indians.
>
> (Wien, 1986:121 in Peters and Rosenberg, 1992:11)

These types of jobs are also sporadic, short-term and impermanent because of their vulnerability to both federal, job creation strategies and ultimately to reserve or settlement politics. Considering the recent government cuts to transfer payments, the 1990 Settlements Accord and the volatility of these jobs, the industry of Metis settlement members will undoubtedly undergo significant changes in the years to come.

4. Summary

The composition and activity of the Metis settlement work force differs significantly from that of Alberta and Canada. Unemployment rates on the Metis Settlements are three times higher than the provincial average. The unemployment rates, however, are underestimated because of the high number of persons out of the labour force (27 percent, 15-64 years old) who may have become discouraged. Women have higher unemployment and lower participation rates than men. This may be the result of lack of labour market opportunities or sexual discrimination.

Over all, the Metis settlements have fewer persons who are employed full-time. Metis males are also more likely to work part-time than Metis females or Alberta males. Metis males also appear to have more flexibility to work both on and off of the settlement than women, with more women working on the settlement. Older persons are also more likely to be employed on or by the settlement with younger residents forced to work off of the settlement.

Seasonality also influences labour activity with only half of the Metis population employed year round. Settlement residents typically also have seasonal jobs that often show higher unemployment rates and less stability. Employment opportunities may also be influenced by geographic location. Without the aid of comparison communities, it is impossible to definitively state this. The determinant of culture as a factor has also been suggested by researchers who found an incompatibility or resistance against employment within the community.

Finally, occupation and industry categories of Metis residents differ significantly from non-Metis persons. The Metis are substantially over-represented in primary industry occupations and sales and service. In fact, Metis males are five times more likely to work in a Primary Industry Occupation than Alberta males. Metis women are also over-represented in the area of Sales and Service with 35.9 percent employed in this category. The Public Administration industry sector employs the highest number of Metis residents (26.5 percent) followed by Logging and Forestry (19.1 percent) and Construction (12.5 percent) on the Metis settlements.

The determinants of labour force activity are interrelated and influenced by the seasonality and the location of work. The macro-sociological influences of geographic location and the very culture of the Metis settlements also affect labour force activity. This reciprocal relationship also enters into the area of occupation and industry.

As previously discussed in the section on education, many residents have acquired post-secondary trade or safety certification skills that may lead them into such occupations. The complexity of these relationships should not be underestimated. Lack of education, training only in certain areas and limited labour market opportunities may force an individual into a predetermined occupational path. Although individual choices influence one's career path, the macro-sociological influences seem to outweigh individual choice or micro-sociological determinants in the case of Metis labour force activity and characteristics. Along with education and labour force, a third aspect of socio-economic conditions may now also serve to build the story of the conditions on the Metis settlements in Alberta. This factor is that of income.

VII. Income

To this point, educational and labour force characteristics have been used to measure the socio-economic well-being of persons living on the Metis Settlements in Alberta. Income is another indicator, and arguably the strongest, of economic status itself. The ensuing discussion is led by a description of the *definitions and concepts of income* that are used, followed by a breakdown and explanation of the multiple *sources of income*. This is then developed by two substantive sections that both assess the income received by persons on the Metis Settlements and compare them with their counterparts in Alberta and Canada. Furthermore, various 'controls' or determinants of income such as: sex, age and family composition will be factored into the discussion. The substantive section on income will be divided into two sections. The first part will focus on the *individual*, with a discussion of: 1) the *individuals' main source, or composition of income*; and, 2) *individuals' levels of income*. In part two, the focus will shift from the individual as the unit of analysis to the *household, or family*. In this section, the incomes of Metis settlements families will be compared with Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs), otherwise known as the 'poverty line.' From this, the number of Metis families that dwell on the settlements who are below the poverty line is determined.

1. Income definitions and concepts

Before the substantive analysis of income composition and levels is undertaken, it is necessary that the very definitions and interpretations of income are clear. The following will explain: definitions of income, clear distinctions between composition of income and the units of income analysis.

a) Income

Prior to analysis of the various aspects of income, it is valuable to provide an explanation of the precise definition that was used to gauge income itself. As Oberle (1993) suggests, it is important to note that monetary income is not the sole determinant of poverty or the conditions in which the poor live. As well, the definition of basic necessities can be defined in various ways from sole survival, to needs which provide social and cultural participation in society. Income is just one indicator, albeit a major one, of economic well-being. Non-monetary income is also *not* included in this section. Non-monetary income would included resources which supplement income such as hunting, fishing or subsidized rent from settlement councils.

The 1995 Metis Settlements Census asked respondents to list all of their sources of income followed by a question to determine their main source of income. Secondly, they were asked if they had received: Unemployment Insurance, Worker's Compensation or Social Assistance and if so, for what period of time. The final question regarding income required persons to state their income level within a choice of income ranges from a response card. While the questions with respect to income accounted for the range of possible income sources (see Figure 15), they did not ask for the amount of income obtained from *each* of these sources. In other words, the Census inquired about an individual's main source of income, about the total number of months in the previous year that she or he had received some of the more common types of government transfer payments, and total income (before taxes and deductions) obtained from all sources in the previous year. For the self-employed, the total individual income question referred to net (after expenses) income. The Metis Settlements themselves will be discussed in much more detail than in the previous sections, with additional general population comparisons only acknowledged when they are comparable and relevant.

The definitions and sources of income used for the 1995 Metis Settlements Census are virtually identical to those employed by Statistics Canada in the Canadian Census. The official definition of income used for both populations is as follows:

> Total income includes: wages and salaries, net income from self-employment, investment income, government transfer payments, pensions and miscellaneous income.
>
> (Statistics Canada, Cat. 13-207, 1994: 39, Mills, Krahn and Kinzel, Technical Report, 1995: 12)

Detailed definitions of the above categories are provided in the glossary at the back of this work.

When most people think of income, they either quote or prefer to list the average, or mean income of a particular gender or age group. But, just as the statistic of the unemployment rate can be misleading, so can the mean income. The *median* income is usually the preferred measure of central tendency when comparing incomes among population groups. The mean income, or average income, can be easily influenced by outliers at the upper or lower income levels. In other words, if one person has an unusually high income of $150,000 per annum or conversely, another has an income of $500 per annum, this would distort the rather sensitive statistic of the mean. The median income can be understood as: "the income value that divides recipients (or families) into two parts, one higher and one lower than the median" (Shryock and Siegal, 1976:207). For example, if the median income was $10,000 (which, it *is* for overall Metis settlement members) this would mean that half of Metis settlement members make under $10,000 per annum which endows the other half with a yearly income of over $10,000.

b) Composition of income

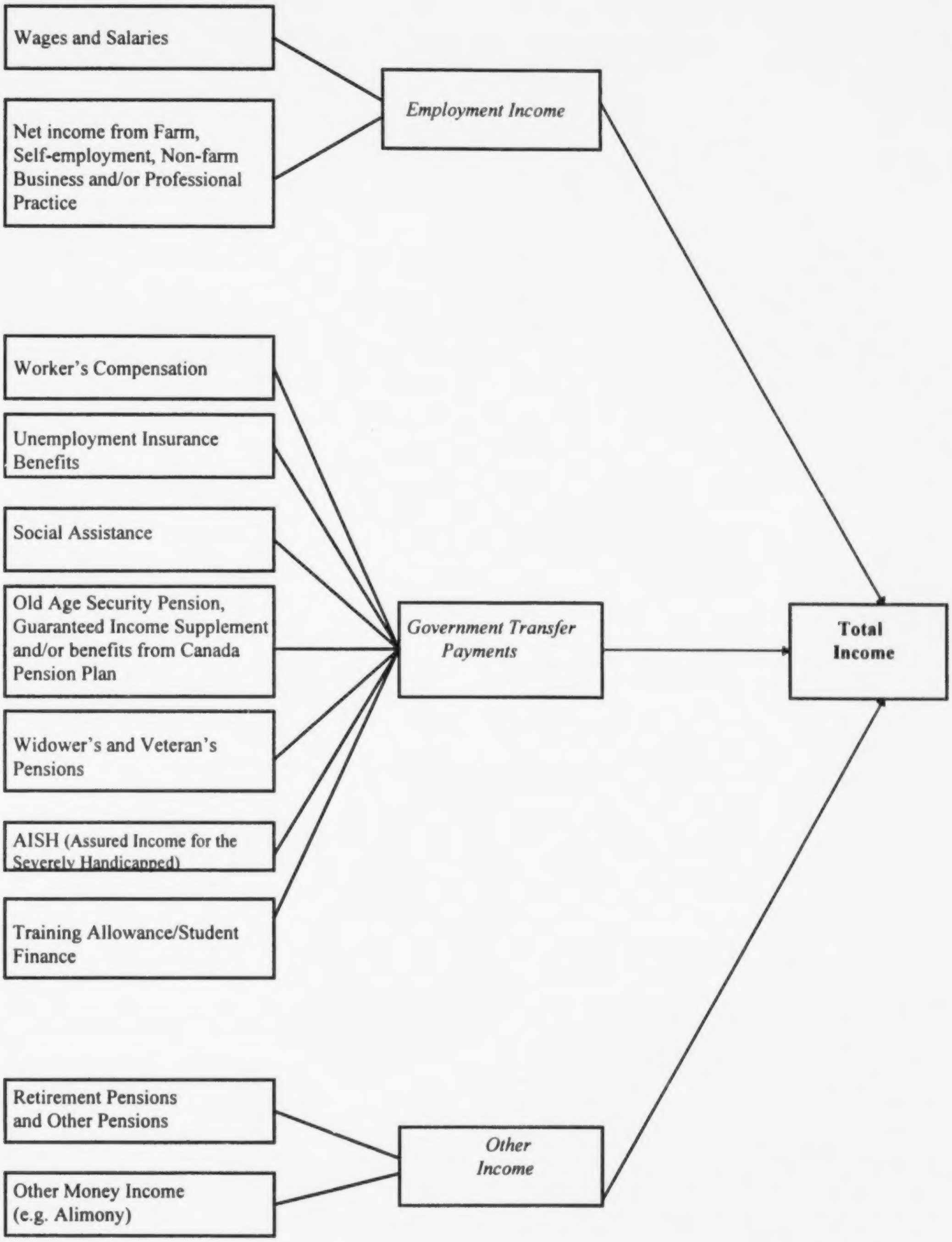
The above definition of total income touches upon the source, or composition of a person's income. Along with the level of an individual's income, the source from which she or he receives their income also has implications for overall economic status. As Figure 15 shows, there are three basic source categories for total income: a) *Employment income*, b) *government transfer payments*; and, c) *other sources of income*.

Employment income consists of gross wages and salaries before deductions and net income (which is gross income minus expenses) from self-employment or partnership in a business or professional practice. This category also includes net income from a farm. Government transfer payments are the social welfare payments from federal, provincial and municipal governments. The major sources are defined in Figure 15 with a detailed definition provided in the glossary. Other sources of income include retirement pensions, annuities, scholarships, alimony and other items not included in the above two categories. Because of a significant number of persons responding that they received AISH (Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped) and Training Allowance, these categories were re-coded from the 'other' open-ended response category to become separate categories.

c) Units of analysis

The income data will be scrutinized using two perspectives, or units of analysis. The first viewpoint is the individual as the unit of analysis. As stated previously, income levels and composition of income for *individual* settlement members is examined. The second perspective, shifts the focus from the individual to the *economic family* in which they exist. Many researchers argue that the second unit of analysis is more appropriate in that individuals within a family tend to share their incomes, furthermore, the incomes within that economic unit often influence overall economic levels. For example, there is a large disparity in the median income for lone-parent families ($20,500 in 1994) to husband-wife families ($47,800 in 1994) (Statistics Canada, Aug. 14, 1996). Unfortunately, the distinction of family type cannot be confidently extrapolated from the 1995 Metis Settlements Census. For this reason, the family as an economic unit will be evaluated solely by positioning family size against Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs otherwise termed, the poverty line. Although the numbers are not broken down by family composition, this table still provides an abundance of useful information.

Figure 15. **Components of Individual Income, Metis Settlements Census, 1995**


Wages and Salaries
Net income from Farm, Self-employment, Non-farm Business and/or Professional Practice
Employment Income
Worker's Compensation
Unemployment Insurance Benefits
Social Assistance
Old Age Security Pension, Guaranteed Income Supplement and/or benefits from Canada Pension Plan
Widower's and Veteran's Pensions
AISH (Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped)
Training Allowance/Student Finance
Government Transfer Payments
Total Income
Retirement Pensions and Other Pensions
Other Money Income (e.g. Alimony)
Other Income

2. Individual income

The individual *income levels* of Metis settlement residents, and indeed most Aboriginal peoples in Canada tend to be lower than the national population. In fact, the average annual individual income of Metis adults who reported income was $13,498 per annum (1995) in comparison to $24,079 per annum (1994) for non-urban Albertans .[28] The median incomes also differed substantially with rural Albertans having almost double the income of Metis settlement members at $17,835 per annum (1994) compared to $10,000 per annum (1995) respectively. The *source of income* derived for individuals on and off of the Metis settlements in Alberta also differs. As with many of the socio-economic areas examined previously, the levels and sources of income also vary by sex and age group. The two areas of income levels and sources of income are now examined by placing a strong emphasis on the data for the Metis settlements.

a) Levels of income

The levels of income of individuals who reside on the Metis Settlements in Alberta will be explored by looking at the breakdown of income amounts by sex and age coupled with an analysis of average and median incomes. Many persons living on the settlements have total annual incomes far below the average Canadian. For example, 54.5 percent of all adults reported a total annual income that was less than

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[28] Statistics Canada. Income distributions by size in Canada, 1994. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, November 1995. Catalogue No. 13-207 Annual, p. 125

$11,000 and 77.7 percent reported a total annual income less than $19,000. As previously described, there are also disparities between the mean and median incomes among Metis settlement members and their provincial neighbours.

i) Variations by sex

One determinant of income levels for the Metis settlements is gender. Data for the province of Alberta show women with average incomes that fall far below fellow male Albertans ($18,657, Standard error: $303 and $31,791, Standard error: $527 respectively) (Statistics Canada, Nov. 1995: 129). Median incomes also demonstrate that women earn almost half that of men in the province of Alberta. The median income is $14,683 for women and $27,654 for men (Statistics Canada, Nov. 1995: 129). This monetary inequality is no different for residents of the Metis settlements.

As Figure 16 depicts, women are over-represented in the lower income categories while men surpass women in the upper echelons of the income groups. In fact, twice as many women (10.9 percent) receive no income at all in comparison to men (5.7 percent). In the three lowest income groups listed above, women have substantially higher representation than men. The income levels for males begin to surpass female levels at the income group of $7,000-10,999 per annum and continue to increase throughout the remaining higher levels. In fact, men are three times more

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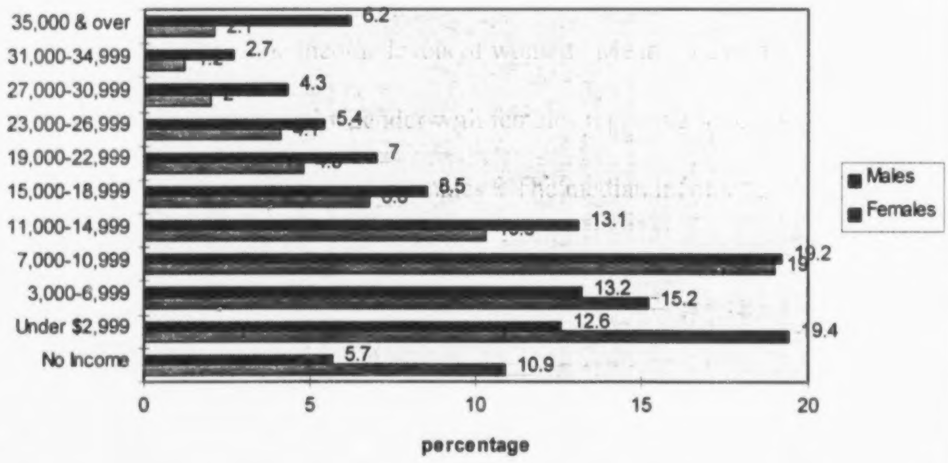
The *standard error of average income* for non-urban Albertans is: $514. The *standard error of average income* for all Metis settlement members is: $351.

likely to have an annual income of $35,000 and over than are women. This however, is misleading as it can also be attributed to the larger proportion of men in this category as well. For the uppermost income levels just below $35,000 and over, indeed men also double the income levels of women. Mean (or average) annual individual incomes also vary by gender with females reporting $10,731.00 in comparison to $15,679.00 reported by males. The median income for females is also $3,000 less per year at $9,000 than the male median income of $12,000.[29] Just as the income inequality is predictable for women, the differences are also apparent by age groups.

Figure 16. Percentage of total income from all sources by income group and sex, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

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[29] The *standard error of average income* for females is: $310 and $392 for males.

ii) Variations by age

The expectation for income levels with respect to age is that the younger population (15 to 24 years) and the older population (65 years and over) would have the lowest income. This population is targeted as such due to the fact that there are fewer labour force participants in this age cohort (see section of labour force activity and age). The population between the ages of 25 to 64 years should then, conversely have higher incomes. As Table 9 illustrates, using age as a control income levels indeed fluctuate in this way for both the Metis settlements and the province of Alberta.

The findings for the youngest population, aged 15 to 24 years, supports the former hypothesis by showing the lowest wages. In fact on the Metis settlements, 19.1 percent report no income at all and 57.2 percent report an income under $2,999 per annum (this includes those reporting no income). Returning to the initial discussion regarding the dependent population and dependency ratios, we can extrapolate that 19.1 per cent of 15 to 24 year olds on the settlements could easily be considered part of the dependent population (recall also the high number of youth who are out of the labour force). When nearly 60 percent of youth are also reporting an income below $3,000 per year, it is safe to assume that they are not self-sufficient and rely on the income of other adults within their own family or economic unit. The mean income of this age group is a mere $6,124 per annum with a median income of only $4,000. This adds additional hidden economic stress on the adult working population between the ages of 25 to 44 years that could not be calculated into the earlier dependency ratios.

The age group that shows the highest income levels is the middle age group of persons who are 25 to 44 years old. On the Metis settlements, they boast the highest mean income of $17,237 (albeit, still very low) and a median income of $14,000. Albertans in this same age cohort report a mean of $29,455 and a median of $26,565 placing Metis in the position of making little over half the income of their Albertan counterparts. This age group also shows a higher proportion of persons in the upper income brackets.

The income levels begin to wane as one gets older. Table 9 shows that the incomes for persons 45 to 64 years falls to a median income of $10,000 for the settlements ($22,759 for Albertans) and a mean income of $14,628 ($28,150 for Albertans). The final decrease occurs in the elderly population who have a meager median income of $10,000 on the Metis settlements ($15,122 in Alberta) and an average income of $10,589 ($20,411 in Alberta).

Why are these variations present by age? And indeed, what could be the possible reasons for the disparities of income among the sexes? A few factors may be determinants of the income levels differences by age and sex. To begin with, one factor that may be attributable to income differences is *involvement in the labour force*. Persons in the age cohorts of 15 to 24 years and over 65 years have little or no involvement in the labour force. (The reader may recall that the labour force participation rate of 15 to 24 year olds on the settlements was 38.6 percent.) Women living on the settlements also show lower labour force participation rates (41 percent)

Table 9. **Percentage Distribution of Individuals by Detailed Income Groups and Age, Metis Settlements of Alberta (June, 1995) with comparable Mean and Median Incomes for Alberta (1994)**

Income Groups	**Total**		**15-24 years**		**25-44 years**		**45-64 years**		**65 yrs& over**	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
BOTH SEXES	2541	100.2	687	100.6	1157	100.2	499	99.8	198	100.2
No Income	211	8.3	131	19.1	49	4.2	30	6.0	1	0.5
Under $1,000	231	9.1	156	22.7	59	5.1	14	2.8	2	1.0
1,000-2,999	178	7.0	106	15.4	47	4.1	23	4.6	2	1.0
3,000-4,999	191	7.5	55	8.0	78	6.7	52	10.4	6	3.0
5,000-6,999	175	6.9	53	7.7	72	6.2	42	8.4	8	4.0
7,000-8,999	212	8.3	37	5.4	81	7.0	66	13.2	28	14.1
9,000-10,999	283	11.1	44	6.4	100	8.6	53	10.6	86	43.4
11,000-12,999	187	7.4	29	4.2	87	7.5	33	6.6	38	19.2
13,000-14,999	118	4.7	14	2.0	68	5.9	24	4.8	12	6.1
15,000-16,999	117	4.6	20	2.9	68	5.9	24	4.8	5	2.5
17,000-18,999	82	3.2	9	1.3	53	4.6	17	3.4	3	1.5
19,000-20,999	87	3.4	6	0.9	63	5.5	15	3.0	3	1.5
21,000-22,999	67	2.6	6	0.9	44	3.8	15	3.0	2	1.0
23,000-24,999	71	2.8	6	0.9	48	4.2	17	3.4	-	-
25,000-26,999	53	2.1	3	0.4	42	3.6	8	1.6	-	-
27,000-28,999	32	1.3	1	0.2	20	1.7	10	2.0	1	0.5
29,000-30,999	52	2.1	5	0.7	36	3.1	11	2.2	-	-
31,000-32,999	32	1.3	2	0.3	22	1.9	8	1.6	-	-
33,000-34,999	19	0.8	-	-	14	1.2	5	1.0	-	-
35,000-38,999	32	1.3	2	0.3	22	1.9	7	1.4	1	0.5
39,000-44,999	44	1.7	2	0.3	35	3.0	7	1.4	-	-
45,000-59,999	34	1.4	-	-	23	2.0	11	2.2	-	-
Over $60,000	33	1.3	-	-	26	2.2	7	1.4	-	-
Average income (Metis Settlements)	$	13,498		6,124		17,237		14,628		10,589
Average income (Alberta)		24,079		n/a*		29,455		28,150		20,411
Median income	$	10,000		4,000		14,000		10,000		10,000
Median income (Alberta		17,835		n/a*		26,565		22,759		15,122
Standard error of average income (Metis Settlements)	$	350		300		423		594		280
Standard error of average income (Alberta)	$	514		n/a*		614		1,330		850

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Incomes are per annum. Mean and Median incomes for the Metis Settlements were calculated by EXCLUDING those who reported 'No Income'. In other words, means and medians for the settlements are directly comparable to Statistics Canada data as they are calculated by including only those who reported income. Persons who reported 'No Income' were included in this table only to demonstrate the large amount of respondents in the youngest age group that responded as such.

* This particular age group was not comparable using Statistics Canada data.

For a somewhat similar (income groupings, however, are dissimilar) comparison of individuals in Canada and the Provinces, refer to: Statistics Canada. Income distributions by size in Canada, 1994. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, November 1995. Catalogue number 13-207 Annual, p. 125-136 than men (57.5 percent) and higher unemployment rates (23.8 percent and 20.4 percent respectively). The effect of labour force activity is twofold. The first influence is the fact that since they are not employed, they are certainly not receiving any wages or salaries to supplement their income. This is directly connected to the second affect which is the *source of income*. Women and men in different age groups and between the sexes have diversified sources from which they obtain their income. The source where one receives their annual income, such as employment income, government transfer payments and other income has a direct effect on the amount of income that is received. The next section will unveil some of the influences of the source of income. Of course, there are a legion of other determinants of income levels which have been touched upon in previous sections. For instance, an individual may have difficulty gaining employment, or indeed employment that brings higher monetary returns. This may be for a variety reasons such as: lower education attainment, geographic location, occupation, seasonality of the work cycle, work-force opportunities or discrimination. In turn, the failure to secure employment directly influences hers or his income level and narrows the option of the source in which she or he can derive their earnings.

b) Composition of income

The source, or composition of an individual's income is another telling indicator of socio-economic status. An earlier section defined the three main categories of income composition. These categories are: employment income, government transfer payments and other sources of income. This section first presents a detailed analysis of composition of income for the Metis settlements by sex and age groups. This is followed by a comparison of the composition of income sources for Canada and the Metis settlements by income level. Results show that not only does composition of income vary by sex and age, but that income levels themselves are also affected by the source of an individual's income. Various other researchers have also found that the source of an individual's income is related to the level of their income (Chawla, 1991; Rashid, 1990; Picard, 1994). The higher incidence of government transfer payments will be chronicled by introducing various Canadian findings. The discussion will conclude by probing the implications of reliance on government transfer payments in the current economic climate of government cutbacks and constraints.

Table 10 provides a detailed breakdown of income composition by both the number and proportion of persons receiving income by sex and age groups. The results of this table will be Table 10 show that the majority of income for both sexes (69 percent) is derived from employment income. Of that, virtually all comes from wages and salaries (65.6 percent) as opposed to self-employment or farming (3.4 percent). Government transfer payments comprise of 29.9 percent of all main income sources of those reporting income. The largest overall benefits are deemed from social assistance, where a little over 9.4 percent of the Metis population reported receiving this as their main source of income. In Alberta, only 2 percent of the population receives social assistance as a main source of income (Alberta Family and

Table 10. **Detailed Main Source of Individual Income of Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Age Groups and Sex, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995**

Source of Income & Sex	Total All Ages		Age Groups							
			15-24 years		*25-44 years*		*45-64 years*		*65 yrs & over*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
BOTH SEXES	2365*	100.0	539	100.0	1150	100.0	504	100.0	172	100.0
Employment Income	1631	69.0	400	74.2	935	81.3	289	57.3	7	4.1
Wages & Salaries	1551	65.6	397	73.7	884	76.9	264	52.4	6	3.5
Farm/Bus/Selfemploy	80	3.4	3	0.6	51	4.4	25	5.0	1	0.6
Government Transfer Payments	708	29.9	130	24.1	210	18.3	206	40.9	162	94.2
Worker's Comp	12	0.5	2	0.4	4	0.4	5	1.0	1	0.6
Unemployment Insur	132	5.6	29	5.4	73	6.4	30	6.0	-	-
Social Assistance	223	9.4	59	11.0	65	5.7	95	18.9	4	2.3
Pension/GIC/CPP	204	8.6	4	0.8	2	0.2	42	8.3	156	90.7
Widow/Vet's Pension	1	.04	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.6
AISH	49	2.1	5	0.9	15	1.3	29	5.8	-	-
Training Allowance	87	3.7	31	5.8	51	4.4	5	1.0	-	-
Other Income	27	1.1	9	1.7	5	0.4	9	1.8	3	1.7
Other Pensions	13	0.6	2	0.4	1	.09	8	1.6	2	1.2
Other Money Income	14	0.6	7	1.3	4	0.4	1	0.2	1	0.6
FEMALES	1036	99.8	250	100.0	497	72.0	204	100.0	85	100.0
Employment Income	623	60.0	156	62.4	358	72.0	106	52.0	3	3.5
Wages & Salaries	611	59.0	155	62.0	350	70.4	103	50.5	3	3.5
Farm/Bus/Selfemploy	12	1.2	1	0.4	8	1.6	3	1.5	-	-
Government Transfer Payments	397	38.3	88	35.2	136	27.4	93	45.6	80	94.1
Worker's Comp	3	0.3	-	-	1	0.2	2	1.0	-	-
Unemployment Insur	64	6.2	14	5.6	40	8.1	10	4.9	-	-
Social Assistance	136	13.1	43	17.2	46	9.3	45	22.1	2	2.4
Pension/GIC/CPP	102	10.0	2	0.8	1	0.2	21	10.3	78	91.8
Widow/Vet's Pension	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AISH	24	2.3	5	2.0	7	1.4	12	5.9	-	-
Training Allowance	68	6.6	24	9.6	41	8.3	3	1.5	-	-
Other Income	16	1.5	6	2.4	3	0.6	5	2.5	2	2
Other Pensions	7	0.7	1	0.4	-	-	5	2.5	1	1
Other Money Income	9	0.9	5	2.0	3	0.6	-	-	1	1
MALES	1329	100.0	289	99.9	653	100.0	300	100.0	87	100.1
Employment Income	1008	75.8	244	84.4	577	88.4	183	61.0	4	4.6
Wages & Salaries	940	70.7	242	83.7	534	81.8	161	53.7	3	3.5
Farm/Bus/Selfemploy	68	5.1	2	0.7	43	6.6	22	7.3	1	1.2
Government Transfer Payments	311	23.4	42	14.5	74	11.3	113	37.7	82	94.3
Worker's Comp	9	0.7	2	0.7	3	0.5	3	1.0	1	1.2
Unemployment Insur	68	5.1	15	5.2	33	5.1	20	6.7	-	-
Social Assistance	87	6.6	16	5.5	19	2.9	50	16.7	2	2.3
Pension/GIC/CPP	102	7.7	2	0.7	1	0.2	21	7.0	78	89.7
Widow/Vet's Pension	1	.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2
AISH	25	1.9	-	-	8	1.2	17	5.7	-	-
Training Allowance	19	1.4	7	2.4	10	1.5	2	0.7	-	-
Other Income	10	0.8	3	1.0	2	0.3	4	1.3	1	1.2
Other Pensions	6	0.5	1	0.4	1	0.2	3	1.0	1	1.2
Other Money Income	5	0.4	2	0.7	1	0.2	1	0.3	-	-

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data. *While there were 3119 individuals in the adult population (15 years of age and over), a sizable number did not respond to the income questions. Hence, the total in this table is 2409.Farm/Bus/Self-empl includes net income from farm, self-employment, non-farm business and/or professional practice. Training Allowance includes those who reported receiving training allowance and some other form of student finance. Other Money Income includes those who receive alimony or band income.

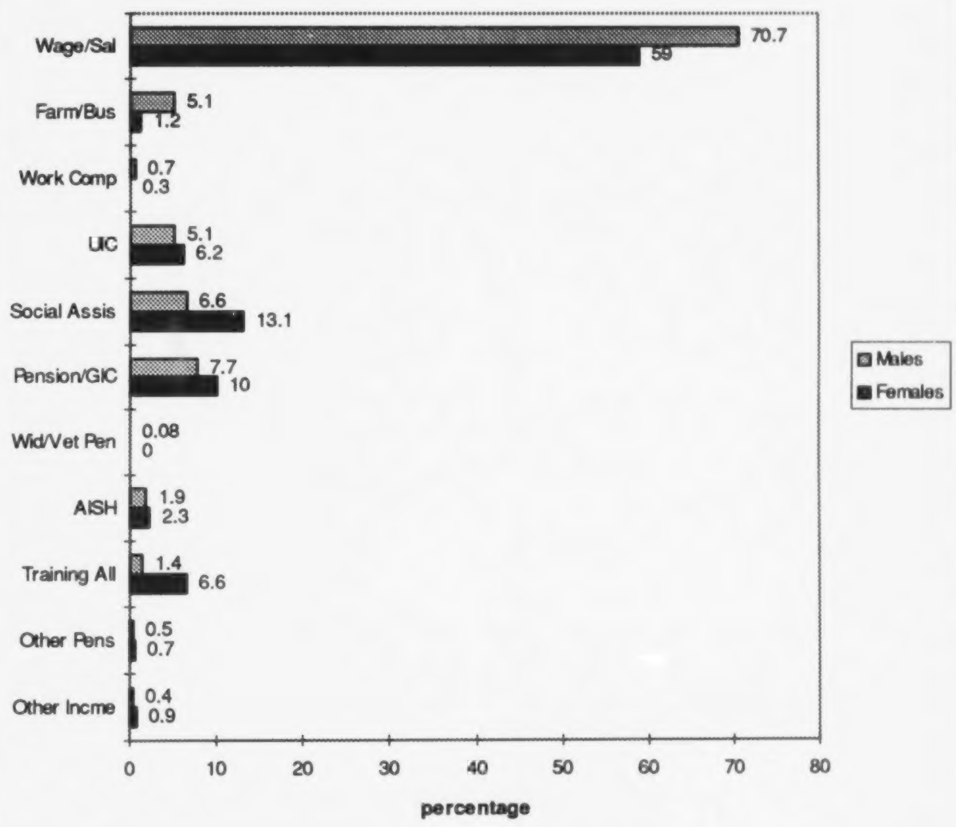
Social Services. Annual Report 1994-95). This was followed by Pensions, Guaranteed Income Supplements and Canadian Pension Plan payments (8.6 percent), unemployment insurance (5.6 percent) and training allowance (3.7 percent). Minimal amounts are also received from AISH (Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped), Widow's or Veteran's Pensions and Worker's Compensations. Finally, Other money income such as alimony or other private or company pensions makes up only 1.1 percent of the main source of income of all those persons reporting income.

a) Variations by sex

Both Table 10 and Figure 17 demonstrate that there are differences in the three main sources of income categories for men and women on the Metis settlements of Alberta. The first disparity occurs in the area of *employment income*. Since men have a higher labour force participation rate and lower unemployment rate than women, it is no surprise that they have higher incomes from employment than their female counterparts. In fact, almost 16 percent more men than women receive their main source of income from employment income (at 75.8 percent and 60 percent respectively; Table 10). Men also appear to be more involved in self-employment, businesses and farming to obtain their income (Figure 17). In 1994 in Canada, the sexual inequality in income from wage employment remains, but is not as pronounced as on the Metis settlements. Sixty-seven percent of women (67.1) earn income from wages and salaries, with 3.6 percent gaining income from self-employment. Of all Canadian men, however, 72.8 percent report incomes from wages and salaries, with 6.9 percent gaining income from self-employment (Statistics Canada, November, 1995: 164).

Women residing on the Metis settlements, however, exceed male proportions by almost 15 percent the category of government transfer payments (at 38.3 percent and 23.4 percent respectively). In all *government transfer payment* categories except for Worker's compensation, women have more recipients than men. The largest incongruity occurs in Training Allowance and Student Finance where women are five times more likely than men to receive these benefits (at 6.6 and 1.4 respectively). If you recall the section on education, this finding should not come as a surprise. Indeed, a larger proportion of Metis settlement women continue with post-secondary and University education than men. Women are also twice as likely to be beneficiaries of Social Assistance than men (at 13.1 and 6.6 respectively). They also may be more likely to *say* that Social Assistance is their main source of income. Perhaps some of this may also be due to the fact that women are often responsible for children if the couple is separated or divorced. The higher unemployment rates experienced by women are also evident in the slightly higher number of women (6.2) reporting Unemployment Insurance than men (5.1 percent). During 1994 in Canada, 19.4 percent of women received transfer payment as income compared to 11 percent of males (Statistics Canada, November, 1995: 164). This shows that Metis women and are twice as likely to receive income from government transfers than are Canadians in general. The difference between the third income grouping: *other* is minimal amongst the sexes for both the Metis settlements and the general population.

Figure 17. Percentage of Main Source of Individual Income of population 15 years of age and over by Sex, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

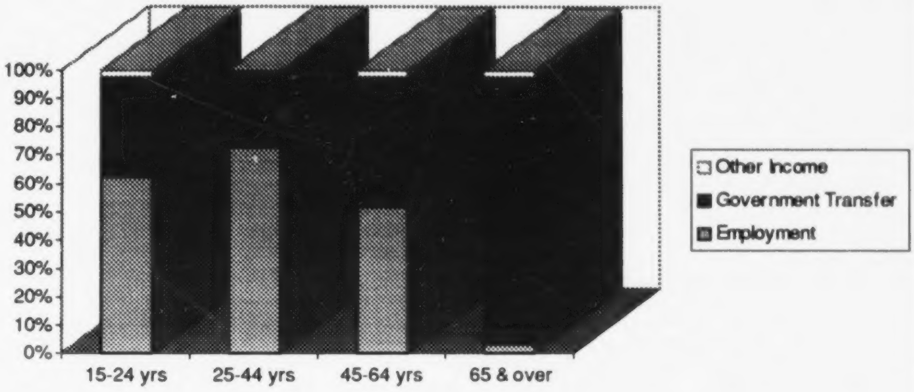
b) Variations by age

Just as the three major income categories vary by sex on the Metis Settlements, they also do so by age. Table 15 and two accompanying graphs, Figure 18 and Figure 19 illustrate the differences in income composition by age. Figure 18 is a useful tool to see the overall differences in income composition by age. At first glance, the reader's eyes are most likely drawn to the overrepresentation of persons 65 years and older as recipients of government transfer payments. Ninety-four percent of persons over 65 years of age living on the Metis settlements in Alberta rely on government transfer payments as their main source of income. The accompanying Figure 19, however, shows that of those 94 percent, almost all (90.7 percent) receive these transfer payments in form of government pensions, guaranteed income supplements or from the Canada Pension Plan. This finding is concurrent with the Canadian population as a whole. Chawla (1991) found that the life cycle of an individual influences their income composition and ultimately their income level.

> ...those under age 25 years old or 65 years and over are more likely to have no source of personal income other than government transfer payments.
>
> (Chawla, 1991: 53)

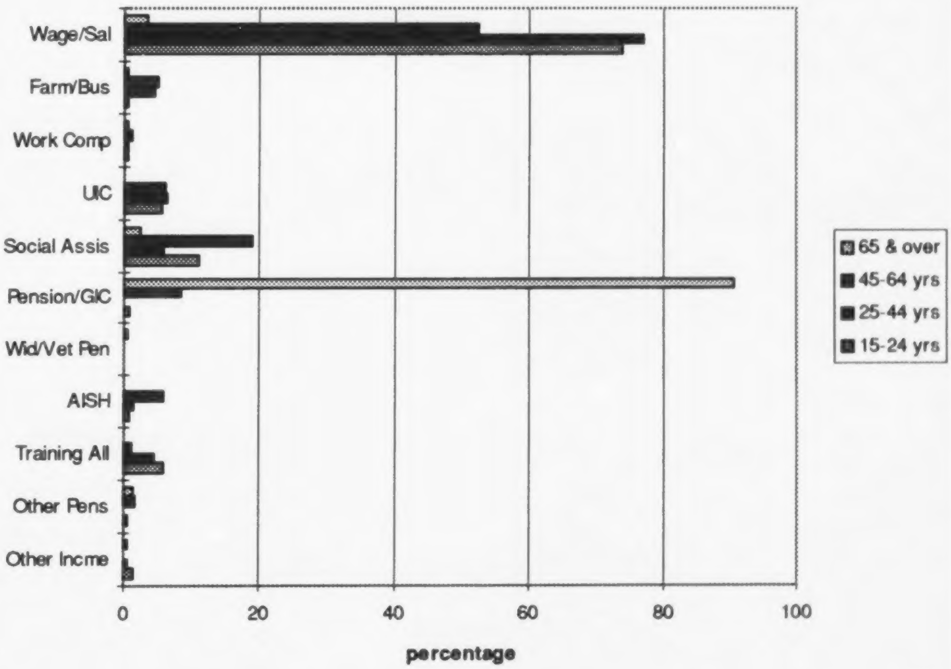
Persons between the ages of 25 to 44 years experience the largest proportion of income by employment at 81. 3 percent. The next age cohort of 45 to 64 year olds are the second highest recipients of government transfer payments at 40.9 percent.

Figure 18. Percentage of three Main Sources of Individual Income of population 15 years of age and over by Age Groups, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Figure 19. Percentage of detailed Main Source of Income of population 15 years of age and over by age groups, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995



Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Almost half of these persons (18.9 percent) are receiving beneficiaries from Social Assistance. They also show the highest percentage of AISH benefits, with 5.8 percent of this age group reporting AISH as a main source of income. Surprisingly, even 15 to 24 year olds beat this age group of 45 to 64 year olds in employment income with 69 percent of the younger population reporting this as their main source of income in comparison with 57.3 percent of their elders.

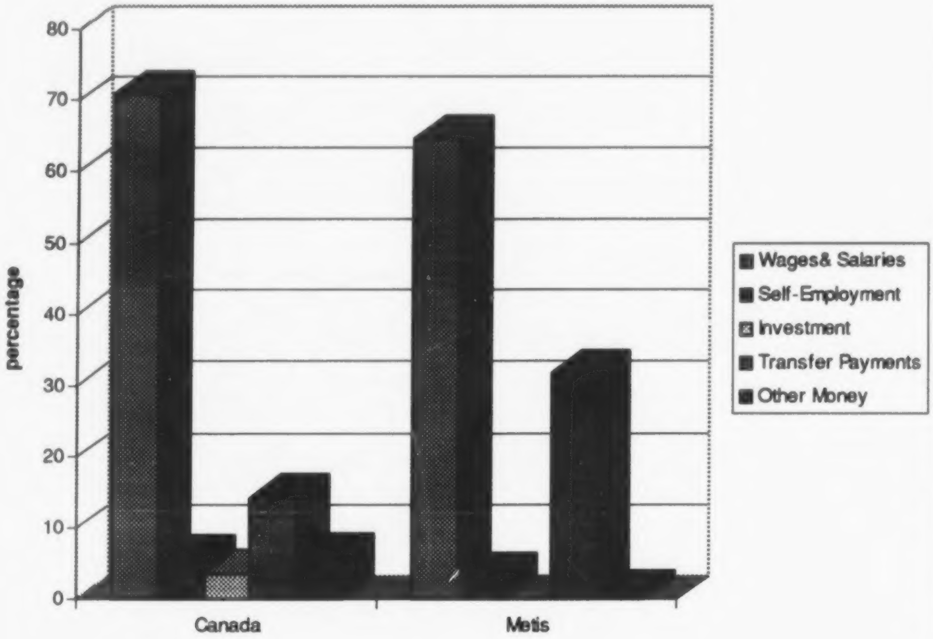
c) Composition of income, income levels and government transfer payments

There is a reciprocal and often parallel relationship between the composition of income and income levels. By comparing data from Canada and the Metis settlements of Alberta, it is apparent that there are both differences between the two populations and that there is a direct correlation between low income levels and receiving government transfer payments.

Before delving into the comparison of income levels by composition of income, it is important to note some differences between the two populations being examined. As mentioned in the earlier section, Metis settlement residents are twice as likely to be recipients of government transfer payments than the national population. As Table 11 and Figure 20 show, employment income still maintains itself as the major source of income overall at 70.7 percent for Canadians and 64.6 percent Metis settlement members.

Table 11 and Figure 20 display the percentage composition of income for individuals by selected income groups for Canada and the Metis settlements of Alberta. For both populations, employment income still maintains itself as the major source of overall income at 70.7 percent for Canadians and 64.6 percent for Metis settlement residents. Metis settlement residents, however, are twice as likely to rely on government transfer payments (at 31.6 percent) than the national population (14.1 percent). Another notable distinction is the concentration of persons in the low income brackets who receive government transfer payments. The necessity of

Figure 20. Percentage Composition of Income of population 15 years of age and over, Canada (1994) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995)



Sources: Statistics Canada, Income distributions by size in Canada, 1994.
Catalogue 13-207 Annual. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, Nov. 1995: 151
1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

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payments to both populations in the lower income levels is readily apparent. The Metis settlement population also falls far behind in investment and other money income. They also find themselves slightly behind Canadians in the area of self-employment as a source of income.

Table 11. **Percentage Composition of Income of Individuals by Income Groups, Canada (1994) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (1995)**

Income Groups	*COMPOSITION OF INCOME*										
	Wages and Salaries		Net Income from Self-Employment		Investment Income		Transfer Payments		Other Money Income		Total
	CAN	MET	CAN	MET	CAN	MET	CAN	MET	CAN	MET	
Under 2,500	86.5	69.9	-40.6	2.2	8.0	-	41.6	27.6	4.6	0.3	100
$2,500-4,999	48.8	54.3	3.1	1.6	5.1	-	39.8	43.5	3.2	0.5	100
$5,000-7,499	41.0	59.6	4.3	2.9	3.9	-	47.6	35.7	3.3	1.8	100
$7,500-9,999	34.9	47.6	4.5	1.4	3.3	-	53.7	50.0	3.7	1.0	100
$10,000-12,499	36.3	43.8	4.0	1.5	2.9	-	52.6	54.3	4.1	0.4	100
$12,500-14,999	33.1	68.7	4.3	1.7	4.3	-	53.5	29.6	4.9	-	100
$15,000-17,499	46.0	76.7	5.2	2.6	4.3	-	37.6	19.0	6.9	1.7	100
$17,500-19,999	51.9	79.3	5.1	4.9	4.5	-	30.8	15.9	7.8	-	100
$20,000-22,499	61.7	81.7	6.3	5.2	3.4	-	20.8	13.1	7.9	-	100
$22,500-24,999	64.3	90.0	4.9	4.3	3.3	-	17.9	5.7	9.5	-	100
$25,000-29,999	70.8	88.2	5.3	1.2	3.5	-	12.7	9.4	7.6	1.2	100
$30,000-34,999	77.9	88.1	4.1	3.0	2.7	-	8.6	7.9	6.7	1.0	100
$35,000-39,999	81.6	87.5	3.9	6.3	2.8	-	5.5	6.3	6.2	-	100
$40,000-44,999	83.5	86.4	4.5	11.4	2.9	-	3.9	2.3	5.1	-	100
$45,000-49,999	84.2	94.4	3.5	-	2.7	-	3.5	5.6	6.1	-	100
$50,000 and over	80.7	71.4	8.5	28.6	4.1	-	1.7	-	5.0	-	100
Total	70.7	64.6	5.7	3.2	3.6	-	14.1	31.6	5.9	0.6	100

Sources: Statistics Canada. Income distributions by size in Canada, 1994. Catalogue 13-207 Annual. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, Nov. 1995: 151
1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Note: Percentages among the Metis settlement population by source of income may vary slightly from Table 15 due to the fact that this table was created by crosstabulating the two variables of both source of income and income level. As a result of combining the two variables, the response rate was altered thereby minimally influencing total percentages.

A specific breakdown of the number of adults receiving UIC, Social Assistance and Worker's compensation by sex and the average amount of time that they received these benefits is outlined for the reader's interest in Table 12.

Table 12. **Unemployment Insurance, Social Assistance and Worker's Compensation, Metis Settlements of Alberta, 1995**

Number and percentage* of adults reporting some income from Unemployment Insurance in the past year:

➡	both sexes:	484	15.5 %
➡	females:	189	13.1 %
➡	males:	295	17.6 %

Average number of months these individuals received Unemployment Insurance:

➡ 4.7 months.

Number and percentage* of adults reporting some income from Social Assistance in the past year:

➡	both sexes:	385	12.3 %
➡	females:	224	15.5 %
➡	males:	161	9.6 %

Average number of months these individuals received Social Assistance:

➡ 6.6 months.

Number and percentage* of adults reporting some income from Workers' Compensation in the past year:

➡	both sexes:	40	1.3 %
➡	females:	33	2.3 %
➡	males:	7	0.4 %

Average number of months these individuals received Workers' Compensation:

➡ 6.6 months.

* Percentages are based on the total population (15 years of age and over).
Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Along with the changing face of the unemployed, the changing face of the unemployment insurance acts must have certainly affected income recipients. In fact, Statistics Canada projected a $1.0 billion decrease in Unemployment Insurance payments for 1995/96 to be offset by an increase of $0.6 billion in old age security and $0.7 billion in social welfare payments (Statistics Canada, Sept. 6, 1995).[30] General government transfer payments were also expected to decrease by 5.0 percent of 1995/96 (Statistics Canada, Sept. 6, 1995). Picard (1994) examined the profile of workers who received regular Unemployment Insurance benefits between 1980 to 1983 and 1989 to 1992 in Canada with a particular focus on their occupation. Men received UIC benefits more than women, which Picard attributes to women's higher participation rate in the workforce. Over half of the UIC benefits in Canada were between the ages of 25-44 years (Picard, 1994:31). The number of UIC recipients in the younger age group of 15 to 24 years actually decreased from 1991 to 1992, according to Picard (1994:30). This, he attributes to the fact that many may have withdrawn from the labour force, as we noted with Metis settlement youths. They may have withdrawn, however, Picard asserts to return to school. The most relevant findings of Picard's are those which relate UIC recipients to occupation.

> Although between 1989 and 1992 blue-collar workers on average accounted for only 41 percent of all paid workers, they made up 60 percent of all UI beneficiaries.
>
> (Picard, 1994: 33)

Picard (1994) showed the highest recipients in the occupations that many Metis settlement members hold. Construction had the highest proportion of UIC beneficiaries which had almost three times more beneficiaries than other categories (1994:33). He attributes this to the seasonal nature of construction. Not only unemployment insurance beneficiaries have been affected by recent changes in government programs and population dynamics.

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[30] Statistics Canada also projected decreases for 1995/96 of 10.3 percent for health and 6.6 percent for education (Sept. 6, 1995).

Chawla (1990) noted a significant increase in the incidence of social assistance recipients. He asserts that social assistance was put in place by the government to help those persons and families who had either no income or a very low income. With this in mind, he postulates that "a greater incidence may indicate hardship (caused by lack of jobs, high unemployment, family dissolution, and so on)" (Chawla, 1991:55). Indeed, it could be said that the Canadian population seems to be moving closer towards the conditions already present in the Metis settlement population in this regard. Considering the recent cuts to the social benefits programs that have occurred since Chawla published this, it would be interesting to perform a times series analysis from 1989 to present. To discuss all of the changes to this broad area and their implications would indeed open a new area of discussion. Therefore, I intend to remain within the descriptive focus of this effort. It must be noted, nonetheless, that recent changes have and will undoubtedly affect income composition, dependence and the very lives of the recipients themselves. A brief glimpse of current data provides a preliminary idea. Statistics Canada has reported that in 1994, Social Assistance accounted for 12 percent of transfer payments to Canadians (Statistics Canada, July 17, 1996). For the Metis settlement population in 1995, Social Assistance accounted for 31.5 percent of transfer payments, or more than double that for Canadians.[31] Rashid (1990) also performed a time series analysis of Canadians from 1970 to 1985, examining the distribution of government transfer payments. Rashid (1990) found results similar to Chawla showing that social assistance recipients are concentrated in low income families, whereas, unemployment insurance recipients are spread across all income groups. He concluded that families in the lowest income decile were overrepresented as recipients in the categories of: family allowances, child tax credits and social assistance. These same income groups had significantly smaller recipients in old age pensions and unemployment insurance benefits compared to other income deciles.

Individual income on the Metis settlements of Alberta varies from the general population by both the level and composition. The mean and median income of settlement residents fall far below that of Albertans. Women, the younger (15-24) and older (over 65) are the most over-represented in these already low income levels. This contributes to a larger dependent population for an increasingly overburdened Metis working population. Individual income levels are affected by a wide array of determinants such as: sex, age, involvement in the labour force, lower educational levels, geographic location, occupation, availability of work and various other factors mentioned in the previous sections. Another determinant that influences the level of income is the source of the money itself.

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[31] It should be clear that this number represents the proportion of people who received social assistance (223), using the total number of transfer payment beneficiaries (708) as the denominator. This percentage should not be confused with the total population who receive social assistance as a main source of income (9.4 percent).

Although the majority of persons on the settlements derive their income from employment, government transfer payments comprise of almost 30 percent of the main source of income for settlement residents. The largest transfers were obtained from social assistance which Metis settlement members are four times more likely to receive than their fellow Albertans. Women and older persons receive the bulk of the transfer payments. Persons in the lower income brackets are also two times as likely to receive government transfer payments. Researchers have also reported that although there are high numbers of recipients in these categories, they receive the *least* amount of money from the government. Government transfer policies and provisions regarding recipients of social welfare and Unemployment Insurance will surely influence the number and makeup of beneficiaries. Another way to examine income is by shifting the unit of analysis from the individual to the family.

3. Household/family income

This analysis will be conducted by *comparing the aggregated income of households by the household size and total household income*. These income levels are then compared with Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs, an indicator commonly used to denote the poverty line. Results show that a sizable number of households on the Metis settlements of Alberta live below the poverty line. In comparison to Canadians and Albertans, the Metis also prove to have significantly lower overall family income levels for all families and each family size. The discussion will end with a brief comment regarding the influence of family composition and life cycle on household incomes. But before the discussion chronicles the exact numbers, a brief description of Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs is required.

Although precise definitions can be found in the appended glossary of terms, persons not familiar with the concept of Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs) or Canada's income security programs could be left confused if these are not touched upon. Statistics Canada's LICOs are often used to measure the poverty line in Canada.[32] LICOs represent the income levels that distinguish the low income population. These levels are defined for families, not individuals, as Statistics Canada presupposes that an individual shares hers or his income with other family members. Statistics Canada's LICOs for 1995 are summarized in the following table. It should be noted that because of the nature of the location of Metis settlements, the last column of 'rural areas' is the one in which comparisons are made. The other categories are included to provide a comparison for the reader.

Table 13. Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs (1986 Base) for 1995

Family Size	*Cities of 500,000+*	*100,000 - 499,999*	*30,000 - 99,999*	*Less than 30,000*	*Rural Areas*
1	15,819	13,895	13,574	12,374	10,769
2	21,442	18,835	18,399	16,771	14,600
3	27,256	23,941	23,387	21,318	18,556
4	31,383	27,561	26,927	24,547	21,364
5	34,287	30,114	29,419	26,818	23,343
6	37,219	32,686	31,932	29,109	25,337
7+	40,029	35,159	34,347	31,311	27,252

Source: National Council of Welfare. Poverty Profile 1994. Ottawa, ON Spring 1996: 89

Oberle (1993) studied the incidence of poverty among native families living on reserves in Canada and found that almost half, or 47.2 percent fell below the LICOs or the poverty line. He summarizes the results as follows:

> One in five native families on reserve have incomes between $5,000 and $9,999 below the poverty line (17.8 percent) and another 9.0 percent fall more than $10,000 below....an estimated 64 percent of reserves have median incomes which fall below the LICOs. This means that on nearly two thirds of reserves, at least half of Indian families are poor.
>
> (Oberle, 1993:I)

Table 14 lists the household income distribution by the size of the household for families living on the Metis Settlements. The results found in Table 14 do not deviate from the findings unearthed by Oberle. Forty-six percent of all Metis settlement households reporting income were below Statistics Canada's low income line. A large number of these households (35.7 percent) reported that their household income

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[32] For a full definition of LICOs see glossary and Oberle (1993).

was below $15,000 per annum. In total, only one third (27.7 percent) of households reported an income of above $35,000.

There also appear to be more Canadians living under the LICOs. The number of Canadians in 1994 with incomes below the LICOs was estimated by Statistics Canada at 4,941,000 (or 16.8 percent) which actually decreased by 202,000 persons from 1993.[33] Statistics Canada is quick to note, however, that the 1994 numbers are still 31.1 percent more (1,171,000 persons) than in 1989 (Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, November 17, 1995). This nevertheless, positions the Metis settlements as having almost three times the amount of people living below the poverty line than the national average.

Figure 21 offers an overall comparison between income levels of all families in Alberta and on the Metis settlements of Alberta. In Alberta, the total number of families with an income under $10,000 was 2.5 percent, which presents the astounding comparison that Metis settlement residents are seven times more likely, at 18 percent, to have family incomes below $10,000. In addition, a total of 5.9 percent of Albertan families in 1994 had incomes below $14,999 in comparison to 35.7 percent of Metis families. At the upper end of the income scale, 15.1 percent of Metis families reported incomes $50,000 and over, which falls over three times behind Albertan families who reported 50 percent of household incomes over $50,000.[34]

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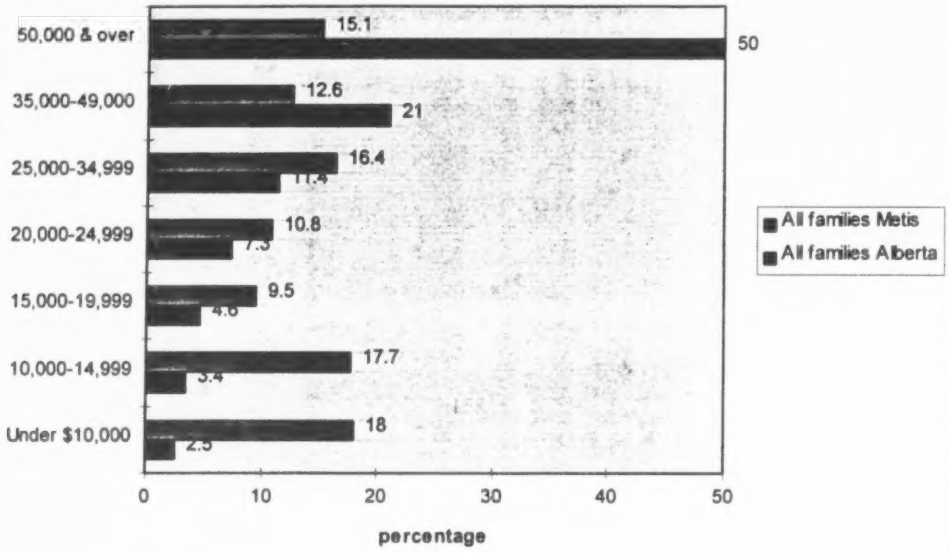
[33] This percentage was calculated by the author with the denominator of the 1995 Canadian population (29,406,097) from: Statistics Canada. Annual Demographic Statistics, 1995. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, June 1996. Catalogue no. 91-213-XPB: p. 67

[34] All Alberta statistics from: Statistics Canada. Income distributions by size in Canada, 1994. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, November 1995. Catalogue no. 13-207 Annual: P. 80
For a more detailed breakdown of Albertan family incomes by size of family see Table 14 in the above Statistics Canada source.

Figure 21. Percentage distribution of Family Income by Income Groups, Alberta (1994) and Metis Settlements of Alberta (June, 1995)



Source: Statistics Canada. Income distributions by size in Canada, 1994. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, November 1995. Catalogue no. 13-207 Annual: P. 80
1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data.

Family size also seems to make a difference as the smaller households appear to have the largest numbers at the bottom of the income levels. This must be put into perspective by noting that logically less individuals would be sharing this income in the smaller households. The proportions are still very high in these levels when we consider for example that 25.7 percent of 2 person Metis settlement member households have an income under $10,000 compared to the same family size in

Table 14. Household Income Distribution by Size of Household, Metis Settlements of Alberta, June 1995

Household size	Total number of hshlds reporting income		Household Income ($)													
			Under 10,000		10,000 to 14,999		15,000 to 19,999		20,000 to 24,999		25,000 to 34,999		35,000 to 49,999		50,000 and over	
	Total N	*Total %*	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Total households	**1079***	**100.1**	**194**	**18.0**	**191**	**17.7**	**102**	**9.5**	**116**	**10.8**	**177**	**16.4**	**136**	**12.6**	**163**	**15.1**
1 person	91	100.1	38	41.8	18	19.8	14	15.4	8	8.8	3	3.3	8	8.8	2	2.2
2 person	144	99.9	37	25.7	33	22.9	16	11.1	16	11.1	13	4.0	14	9.7	15	10.4
3 person	174	99.9	33	19.0	42	24.1	15	8.6	15	8.6	26	14.9	19	10.9	24	13.8
4 person	243	100.0	39	16.1	37	15.2	23	9.5	33	13.6	46	18.9	29	11.9	36	14.8
5 person	170	100.1	17	10.0	29	17.1	16	9.4	21	12.4	36	21.2	28	16.5	23	13.5
6 person	125	100.0	17	13.6	16	12.8	9	7.2	7	5.6	27	21.6	15	12.0	34	27.2
7 or more persons	132	100.0	13	9.9	16	12.1	9	6.8	16	12.1	26	19.7	23	17.4	29	22.0

* While there were 1274 households on all of the Metis Settlements of Alberta, in several hundred households the income questions were not answered. Consequently, this total represents all households in which someone reported income. Also note that due to rounding, total percentages may not equal exactly one hundred.

Source: 1995 Metis Settlements Census, Unpublished data. The shaded area to the left indicates those families who fall below Statistics Canada's LICOs.

Alberta who lists only 4.1 percent (Statistics Canada. November, 1995:80). Conversely, the largest families report the greater proportion of people in the upper income levels. But once again, putting this into perspective we must realize that even though the larger families report higher overall family incomes, when 5 or 6 persons are sharing an annual income of $25,000 to 34,999, this does not make conditions any more economically sound. This trend of larger families reporting higher overall incomes is comparable to Alberta, however, the income levels themselves are considerably lower for Metis settlement members. The sharp divisions between Alberta and the Metis settlements displayed in Figure 21 remain strong throughout all family sizes, with a substantially higher number of Albertan families reporting higher incomes than Metis families.

Income is often also studied not only by family size, but by family composition and life cycle. Evans and Chawla (1990) discovered that unattached individuals and lone-parent families fared the worst economically. In general, families that had fewer dependents and more working-age adults also did better economically (1990:37). Although family composition (i.e., breakdown of lone-parent families, etc.) cannot be confidently extrapolated from the 1995 Metis Settlements Census, certain findings speak to the area of family composition. To begin with, the age-specific dependency ratios on the Metis settlements are much higher than for Alberta and Canada. Thirty-seven percent of the population is under 15 years old and of that population, almost 14 percent are under five years old. This infers a rather large dependent population. The average number of children per household for all households was 1.5 and the average number of children per household of households that reported children was 2.7. In total, the average number of persons per household was 4. The younger population also represents a population that is at a certain stage within a life cycle. This is the stage where the population is gaining experience and education in order to gain employment and a subsequent income. Evans and Chawla (1990) support many of the assumptions posited earlier for factors influencing lower income levels.

> Families find themselves with low incomes for a large number of reasons such as low wage rates and difficulties in obtaining enough work (for example, lack of full-year employment in seasonal occupations, lack of child care facilities).
>
> (Evans and Chawla, 1990: 39)

This section on family income is perhaps one of the areas that shows the sharpest economic differences between the Metis settlements and the population of Alberta. The income levels for both individuals and economic families on the Metis settlements fall far below the provincial and national average and median incomes.

Evans and Chawla (1990) studied the group and concept of the 'working poor'. They found the area to be important for two reasons that are also pertinent to the Metis settlements. The first is regarding Canada's labour force strategy to move away from providing persons without employment a financial supplement.

> ...there is increased emphasis on ensuring that families obtain adequate income from employment, as opposed to government transfer payments.
>
> (Evans and Chawla, 1990:32)

The second reason relates to the newer service sector jobs that are currently being created in the Canadian economy which are also low paying and intermittent. If you recall the section regarding occupation, you may remember that a sizable number of Metis women are employed in this sales and service sector. Evans and Chawla (1990) also found that approximately one in five low income families are employed in full-year, full-time jobs (1990:35). The type of family that one lives in also affect low income levels. As previously mentioned, however, this information could not be confidently extrapolated from the Metis settlements census. For this reason, comparisons are not available.

Just as Metis settlement members exhibited lower individual income levels, logically Metis settlement households reflect the same findings. The comparison between family incomes for the Metis settlements of Alberta and the province as a whole show Metis families significantly over-represented in the lower income groups and Alberta families exhibiting the same over-representation in income levels over $35,000 per year. Logically, family income levels also increase by family size. Finally, the life cycle and type of family that an individual exists in may be additional strong determinants of family income that would be interesting to analyze in a future endeavor.

VIII. Conclusion

By presenting selected demographic aspects of the Metis settlements of Alberta in comparison to Alberta and Canada as a whole, some obvious disparities arose. The data from the 1995 Metis Settlements Census shows that persons living on the Metis settlements have a consistently lower quality of life than their provincial and national counterparts. These variations were exhibited by using the four areas of: population distribution, education, labour force and income as vehicles to characterize and compare the socio-economic conditions of the different communities. This final chapter will consist of an initial *overview of the major findings*, followed by *ideas for further research* for those interested in doing subsequent work on the Metis. Finally, a *conceptual synthesis* intended to capture the main ideas of the work into a unified framework that may be useful in subsequent research completes the discussion.

1. Overview of major findings

This thesis focused on the Metis Settlements of Alberta using data obtained from the 1995 Metis Settlements Census. After a discussion of the methodology used during the Census, a brief historical overview of the Metis Settlements of Alberta was introduced. This was followed by the presentation and comparison of the socio-economic aspects of: population distribution, education, labour force and income.

i) History

A history of the Metis Settlements of Alberta shows that the Metis have been historically marginalized by the government. Only since the 1990 Metis Settlements Accord has the power shifted from the federal and provincial government to the Metis people. These factors have shaped the socio-economic conditions of the settlements.

ii) Methodology

This study focused on the resident members and their dependents on the Metis Settlements of Alberta, *not* all Metis persons living within the province of Alberta. This work relied on the data and methodology of the 1995 Metis Settlements Census. The census itself was initiated by the Metis Settlements General Council with the Metis settlement members undertaking the enumeration. The census items were developed specifically to meet the policy needs of the Metis, such as questions on non-formal post-secondary education, something not asked by the usual national censuses.

iii) Population distribution

The Metis have an extremely young population in comparison to Alberta and Canada. Dependency ratios are also high, placing a great stress upon working age adults in the settlements who must support the large dependent population.

iii) Education

Persons living on the Metis settlements are four times more likely than the average Albertan to have less than a grade nine education. This appears to be changing with the 15 to 24 year old cohort having more education than their older counterparts. Metis settlement members are also ten times less likely to have a University degree in comparison with the general population. Analyzing the data by gender shows that Metis women actually have higher levels of post-secondary education than Metis men. By broadening the definition of education, we discovered a myriad of skills and education for persons on the settlements. Many Metis have continued to pursue learning in their adult years through non-formal education. These skills also appear to have a direct relation to the occupational activity of Metis settlement members.

The investigation also touched on children's school completion and drop-out levels. It was found that as Metis children grew older, they were more susceptible to either fall behind a grade in school or drop out of school altogether. For instance, of all Metis eighteen year olds still attending school, 95.5 percent were falling behind a grade. Although the reason for the lower levels of Metis educational success and participation are complex, a fundamental factor is the poor social and economic situation prevailing in the community of the Metis.

iv) Labour force

Labour force activity was described in terms of activity rates, full and part-time employment, seasonality of work cycle, employment and geographic location. The Metis settlements have an unemployment rate of 21.7 percent which is three times higher than their provincial counterparts (7.1% in Alberta). Metis females experience higher unemployment and lower labour force participation rates than males for all populations, although Metis rates are still higher overall. Typically, youth between the ages of 15 to 24 years old are also over-represented among the unemployed. For this age group on the Metis settlements, the unemployment and participation rates are almost equal, a great difference from the Albertan and Canadian population. Lower education levels and less work experience may attribute to these levels. Even in the typical highly employed age group of 25 to 44 year olds (89 percent participation rate for Alberta), only 66.2 percent of Metis are participating in the labour force.

A conclusion that can be made from this data concerns the large number of discouraged workers, or the hidden unemployed. These are workers who have given up looking for work as they feel that they will be unable to secure a suitable job. The reasons for this may be a shortage of work in their occupational field, discrimination, lack of skills or education or disability. Other influencing factors may be age, gender, education, location or job opportunities.

An unusual gender difference presented itself on the Metis settlements with respect to full and part-time employment. More Metis women than Metis men work full time on the settlements, a finding which contradicts the gender division in Alberta and Canada. Metis males are also two times as likely to work part-time than females. Youth between the ages of 15 to 24 years are also more likely to work part-time with persons 25 to 44 years leading in full-time employment. Seasonality also plays a role in labour force activity, only 52 percent of the Metis population are typically employed year-round. More females work on the settlements than males. Metis males are more flexible to work on or off of the settlements. Persons 45 years and over are more likely to be employed on or by settlement associations.

Geographic location may affect the employment opportunities for settlement members. The eight settlements are all located in the northern half of the province, ranging from the far east (Fishing Lake and Elizabeth) to the extreme north-west (Paddle Prairie). All settlements are situated far from any major urban center, with a disparate amount of natural resources between them and often limited employers. In addition, constraints beyond location such as culture of the community may influence labour force activity. As a literature review revealed, some researchers espouse that the economic and labour force goals of 'reserve culture' often differ from that of the general Canadian society. This, however, is a difficult point to verify or argue. Perhaps the more appropriate assumption is that culture can influence the types of economic development that community members feel comfortable with rather than the levels of development.

Albertans greatly exceed Metis in the upper echelon occupations, such as that of Managerial. The Metis are over-represented in sales and service, construction and primary industry occupations. For instance, Metis settlement residents are five and a half times more likely to hold a job in a Primary Industry occupation than the average Albertan. In both populations, women are over-represented in clerical, medical and health, and sales and service occupations. Over one-third of working Metis women are in sales and service occupations. Although males are over-represented in primary and manual labour occupations across both populations, the extent to which they are over-represented is extreme within the Metis community. Almost one-third of Metis males are employed in the Primary Industry occupation.

The categories of industry predictably followed that of occupation. A striking difference was found with large percentages of the Metis population being employed in the Public Administration sector (26.5 percent compared to 5.2 percent for Alberta). Most of these persons were employed as municipal labourers for the settlement. The next largest variations for industry were the logging and forest industry (19.1 percent and 0.5 percent respectively) and the construction industry (12.5 percent and 7.5 percent respectively).

v) Income

Income was analyzed by using two units of analysis of the individual and the household or family unit. The discussion of individual income included main source or composition of income and levels of income. Household or family income compared the aggregated income of Metis settlement families in comparison to Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut Offs, otherwise referred to as the poverty line.

Many persons living on the Metis settlements have an average and median income far below the average Canadian. Over half of Metis adults reported a total annual income less than $19,000. Women in both Alberta and on the Metis settlements earn approximately half that of their male counterparts. On the Metis settlements, women are over-represented in the lower income categories and twice as many women (10.9 percent) receive no income at all. Youth and the elderly also show the lowest income per annum with the highest earning group between the ages of 25 to 44 years old. However, even their incomes are a little over half of their fellow Albertans.

The major source of income is employment income, but beneficiaries of government transfer payments comprise of almost one-third of all Metis settlement residents reporting income. Many more Metis (9.4 percent) receive social assistance than the average Albertan only receiving 2 percent as their main source of income. Metis men also appear to have more employment income, whereas women exceed males by almost 15 percent as recipients of government transfer payments. Source of income also varies by age, with persons over 65 as major pension recipients for all populations.

Research also detects a direct correlation between low income levels and receiving government transfer payments. Since Metis settlement residents are two times as likely to be recipients of government transfer payments, it is no wonder that they also show lower income levels. The changing transition of government transfer payments will undoubtedly affect residents of the Metis settlements. Perhaps the affect will be far deeper for these people than for their fellow Canadians because of their greater reliance on transfer payments. This is an area that has direct economic implications for all Canadians.

Measuring the dependence on government transfer payments in Canada from 1971 to 1989, Chawla (1991) found results consistent with the correlation of low income levels and government transfer payments that are deemed from this investigation. Chawla determined that dependence on government transfer payments is affected by the level of income. He states that this is because many of the government programs, such as social assistance are income tested (1991: 53). Large numbers of persons receiving government transfer payments does not, however, mean large amounts of pay-outs. It is important to make the distinction that although persons in the lower income groups report a higher incidence of government transfer payments as a source of income, this does not mean that they receive the majority of the money from government transfer payments. In fact, the opposite appears to be occurring. In fact, 1989 only 20.7 percent of the total payouts of government transfer payment went to persons in the low income quintiles (Chawla, 1991:63). Rashid (1990) supports this finding with his research as well. He discovered the payment for the highly concentrated categories for the lowest income groups are significantly smaller than the pay-outs for unemployment insurance and old age pensions. This challenges some the public opposition against social welfare recipients. Although many low income individuals were present in these categories, their cumulative pay-out was significantly less than the other deciles (Rashid, 1990:53). Perhaps some of these 'wars on welfare' should focus on other programs (although arguably all social welfare programs are currently candidates for downsizing, including unemployment insurance). In 1985, Rashid (1990) uncovered that government transfer payments accounted for two-thirds of low income families total incomes. This is a sharp difference for other income families who only relied on these payments to cover 10 percent of their total income (Rashid, 1990:53). There have also been some major changes in the transfer payment programs and the number and makeup of recipients themselves.

Chawla (1991) found reliance on government transfer payments has increased over time for all Canadians.

> Among unattached individuals in the lowest income quintile, 42 percent received some cash transfers in 1971 compared with 94 percent in 1989.
>
> (Chawla, 1991: 53).

Significant changes in the incidence of government transfer payments between the period of 1970 to 1985 was also unearthed by Rashid (1990). Some of these changes can be attributed to the population distribution itself (recall the earlier section regarding the disparate population composition of the Metis settlements and Alberta and Canada). As a result of the aging population, an obvious growth occurred in the incidence of pensions for Canadians to the elderly (from 12 percent to 17 percent) (Rashid, 1990:54). Fertility declines were also reflected in a decreased incidence of family allowance payment (62 percent to 17 percent) (Rashid, 1990:54). The incidence of unemployment insurance benefits, provincial income supplements and social assistance doubled from 18 percent to 40 percent between 1970 to 1985 (Rashid, 1990:55). But Rashid accounts for changes in the number of unemployment insurance recipients not by the changing population composition, but by the changes in UIC legislation. Since Rashid wrote his article, more recent revamping has been undertaken to the UIC plan. In fact, during the late spring and early summer of 1996 the Liberal Federal Government introduced an overall of the Unemployment Insurance plan including the re-naming of it. It is now called Employment Insurance.[1]

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[1] This linguistic shift reminds me of Noam Chomsky's observation regarding the United States Government's move in the 1950's to rename the 'Department of War' the 'Department of Defense'.

2. Future Research

This thesis is not a typical one that involves theory, hypothesis testing, methods, data and analysis. This, however, does not overshadow the credibility and uniqueness of the work. There are three unique features of this study. This thesis could also serve as a starting point for future areas of research.

From a detailed literature review, I found few current or reliable source of socio-economic characteristics of the Metis people in Canada. Nothing was available for persons living on the Metis settlements in Alberta. This is a very underdeveloped area of research and for this reason, this work is an important addition to this area of study.

The second unique feature is that this thesis is based on the 1995 Metis Settlements Census, and that in itself restricted the thesis. For example, I did not evaluate fertility, mortality and migration. This thesis has practical value to the Metis Settlements General Council for policy and planning purposes. The thesis is also timely in light of the emerging issues of aboriginal land claims and self-government.

This study is not an exhaustive analysis on the Metis settlements of Alberta. Rather, it is a first step to further scientific study. For individuals interested in the Metis or Aboriginal peoples, this work should be of great use, as it is a springboard for further analysis. There are a variety of areas worth pursuing.

The first area would be to undertake an analysis of the *social, demographic and economic differences between the eight Metis settlements in Alberta*. The presence or absence of natural resources within each community probably plays a critical role in a community's viability and general well-being. Geographic location, proximity to educational institutions, and labour market opportunities would vary across the settlements. The diversified types of leadership for each settlement would be worthy of further attention, given its centrality to the allocation of funds into the settlement infrastructure.

The dataset could be explored using *multivariate analysis*. For example, when looking at the difference in income, it would be fruitful and interesting to control for differences in education and occupation compositions. Many variables available in the data file such as marital status, religion, disability and dwelling characteristics were not analyzed in this thesis.

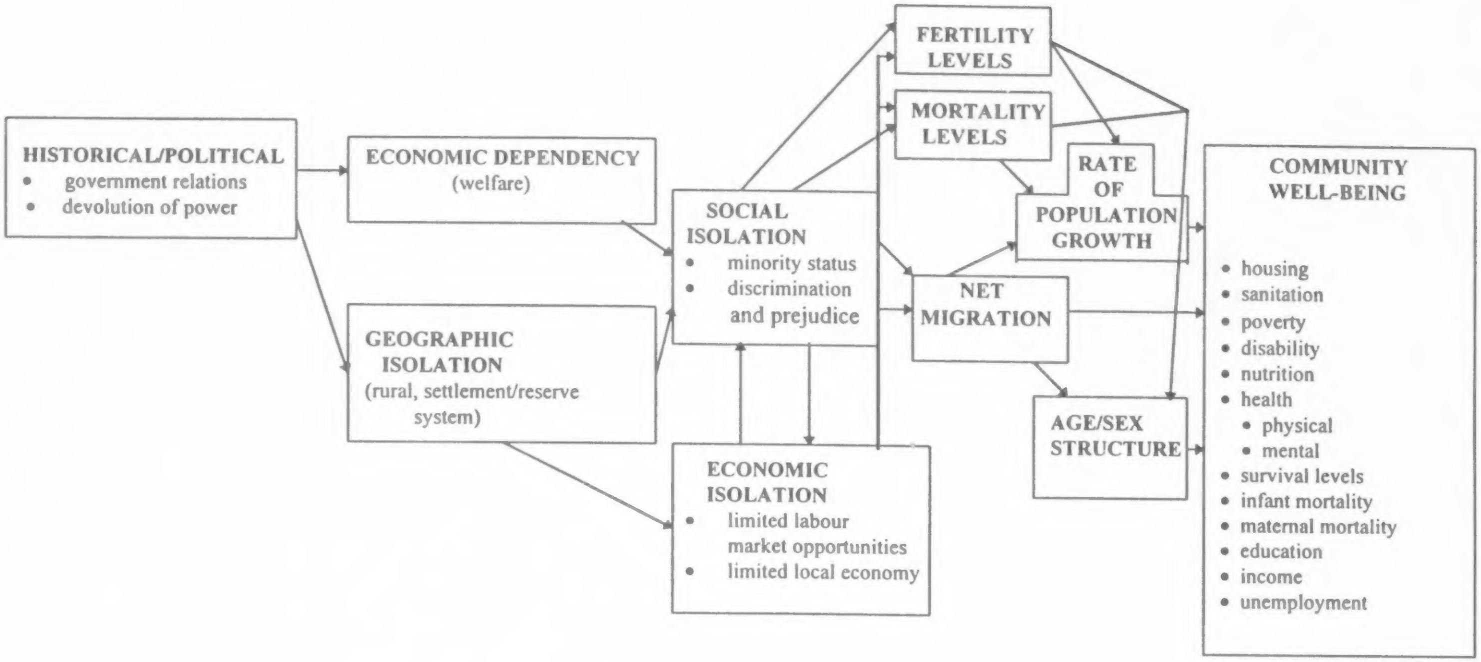
It would be useful to examine in detail the group's *fertility, mortality and migration patterns* to gain a better understanding of the Metis demography. We have little knowledge of the in and out migration patterns involving Metis Settlements and other areas of Canada. Moreover, it would be useful to investigate epidemiological conditions, including, infant and maternal mortality, life-expectancy, death rates and survivorship.

3. Theoretical synthesis

Although explanations of why conditions exist as they do among the Metis was not a primary focus of the analysis itself, the thesis touched on the notion that the Metis situation is inextricably linked to sociological, cultural, economic, historical and political factors.

Figure 23 provides a conceptual model of factors responsible for Metis community well-being. This study is a starting point to provide the presentation of much needed concrete data on conditions that many Metis settlement residents have lived (and argued) exist for many years. Figure 23 is a basic model showing the relationship between the variables which eventually influence community well-being. There are a variety of ways to interpret community well-being. Community well-being, for the purpose of this thesis, means overall socio-economic standard of living of a community. Indicators of this concept may be: housing adequacy, sanitation, heating, poverty, disability, nutrition, physical and mental health of persons in the community, survival and mortality levels, and the three areas discussed within this project, education, income and employment. Figure 23 illustrates the determinants of Metis community well-being.

Figure 23. Conceptual Model of Factors Responsible for Metis Community Well-Being


HISTORICAL/POLITICAL
• government relations
• devolution of power
ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY
(welfare)
GEOGRAPHIC ISOLATION
(rural, settlement/reserve system)
SOCIAL ISOLATION
• minority status
• discrimination and prejudice
ECONOMIC ISOLATION
• limited labour market opportunities
• limited local economy
FERTILITY LEVELS
MORTALITY LEVELS
NET MIGRATION
RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH
AGE/SEX STRUCTURE
COMMUNITY WELL-BEING
• housing
• sanitation
• poverty
• disability
• nutrition
• health
• physical
• mental
• survival levels
• infant mortality
• maternal mortality
• education
• income
• unemployment

Historical and political circumstances have contributed to the current community well-being that exists on the Metis settlements in a number of ways. For example, there is a high unemployment rate and subsequent comparatively higher numbers of discouraged workers and UIC recipients on the Metis Settlements. Some of this could arguably be attributed to certain historical developments and political government choices. As with other First Nations people, there has been a tradition of decisions made for the Metis people and not by the Metis people. Along with this paternalistic treatment by the federal and provincial governments of the Metis, there has also been a blatant hindrance to Metis economic development and the establishment of a landbase for the Metis. Initially, after signing the Confederation of Canada in 1867, Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald set this precedent with his remark: "Should these miserable half-breeds not disband, they must be put down" (Redbird, 1980:18). This was in reference to their expansion into the Red River area and further into the 'Canadian empire'. Even the fact that the initial oil and gas litigations of 1969 by the Metis against the provincial government were originally overturned because the Metis had not asked for permission from the Minister to sue his government first, seems absolutely absurd to the reader in 1996. Purich (1988) argues that the very provisions of the Metis Population Betterment Act made any sort of economic development difficult.

> As in the Indian Act, property on a settlement was exempt from seizure by court order, and from all liens, charges and mortgages. This made it difficult for settlement residents to obtain financing for agriculture or other economic development. Before lending money, financial institutions want security - a mortgage on land or liens against moveable property.
>
> (Purich, 1988:147)

Without a secure landbase, the Metis people had no choice but to be dependent upon the government. The custodial welfare schemes developed by the government had the outcome of perpetuating itself, not creating economic independence. One result of this was reflected in the discussion of main sources of income in this thesis. A significant number of Metis settlement members rely on government transfer payments as a primary source of income. This results not only in economic dependence upon the government, but in significantly lower levels of income. This dependence is also reflected in the government funded industry of 'Public Administration' in which many settlement residents are employed.

Incomes and jobs dispensed from the provincial and federal government may be a symptom of the fact that economic independence has been hampered for many years. It appears that with little or no collateral to secure loans, it was virtually impossible for persons dwelling on the settlements to gain appropriate finances to start their own agricultural operations or other business pursuits. It was also difficult for settlement members to obtain employment outside of the community considering their relatively isolated geographic locations. In addition, leaving their families and the community to gain employment may not have been (and arguably is still not) an attractive choice for the health of the community or for individual settlement members. From this, an apparent cycle of *economic dependence* was created.

By virtue of political and historical roots, *geographic isolation* is also a contributing factor to community well-being. As the section on the history of Metis settlements revealed, the Metis people have a history of first being displaced from their land and finally being forced to live in other, less favourable areas. The landbase provided for the Metis spreads these people across the northern reaches of Alberta. Within these areas, there are few large employers, with each settlement having different amounts of available natural resources. As discussed in the proceeding section on labour force, many individuals have difficulty securing adequate employment due to their geographic location and subsequent lack of labour market opportunities.

The factors of economic dependence and geographic isolation in turn, create economic and social isolation. *Social isolation* drives Metis settlement residents into the realm of a minority status who often face discrimination and prejudice. They face this discrimination when they leave the settlements as children to attend school, which in turn affects educational attainment and completion. They are forced to leave their own culture, experience and language and must re-learn how to cope in the world outside of the settlement. This discrimination and cultural difference may also occur in the labour market when they depart from the settlements to apply for work. *Economic isolation* includes influences such as lack of labour market opportunities, economic development and a weak local economy. Due to this poor local economy, many persons cannot obtain work on the settlements and subsequently must rely on government transfer payments for their income or leave the settlements in order to gain employment. Social and economic isolation, however show feedback, or interchange with each other. Often this isolation is reciprocal in nature with persons facing, for example, limited labour market choices because of discrimination coupled with businesses discriminating against community workers because of their weak local economy. These influences are also tied to the demographic areas of fertility, mortality and migration.

When examining community standards of living and well-being, it is integral to include *fertility, mortality and migration levels* into this discussion. The aforementioned historical, political, economic, geographic and social factors all influence these three variables, which in turn, affect a community's social and economic conditions. The population structure on the Metis settlements is substantially younger than for the provincial and national population, mainly as a result of higher levels of fertility. High fertility means, obviously, more children, and as the section on family income indicated, larger families face a greater economic disadvantage in terms of annual income. Logically, the income of two working adults would be spread to its limits in families with many children as opposed to the smaller families in Alberta and Canada. Mortality levels would also be affected. Isolation and dependency results in a lower standard of living and perhaps higher death rates. Although this was not calculated, the life expectancy of Metis settlement members would undoubtedly be lower than that of their provincial and national counterparts. There are few persons over the age of 65 years on the settlements, whereas, this population continues to grow in the non-settlement group. Both fertility and mortality levels, therefore, affect the natural increase of the settlements. This is evident in the rate of population growth and the age and sex structure. Natural increase, coupled with net migration also influences the conditions on the settlements. Many persons on the settlements move out in order to go to school or obtain employment. The rate of population growth and the age and sex structure is therefore affected by the interplay of births and deaths (births - deaths) coupled with the net migration (immigration - emigration). In turn, all of these factors contribute to the community's standard of living.

As stated previously, the conceptual model developed in Figure 23 is visual a depiction of the ideas presented within the pages of this thesis. It is a starting point for further research on the community standard of living and well-being for the Metis settlement community in Alberta along with other aboriginal communities. The people of the Metis settlements in Alberta are a uncommon group, because of their historical and political development, but also because of their distinct cultural differences from Canadian and other native communities. Although history has proven to conceive a life on the settlements that currently consists of economic, geographic and social isolation, there exists a strength and willpower among the community and within the Metis Settlements General Council. This isolation, however, has still managed to influence the fertility, mortality and migration levels which in turn have affected the rate of population growth and the age and sex structure. The final result is eight Metis communities that are distinctly different from the communities of the province and country in which they exist. This is evident in the markedly lower standard of living and well-being on the Metis settlements reflected in high poverty levels, unemployment and mortality and lower health, education and income levels.

The intent of this work was not to provide a prescriptive solution, rather, to present the data and comparisons and explore possible reasons as to why these conditions exist. By stating that persons living on the Metis settlements have a lower standard of living and well-being may seem patronizing. Perhaps persons living on the Metis settlements simply live a different way of life and have different standards and yardsticks of well-being from those employed by outsiders. One hope, however, remains: that the socio-economic situation of Metis persons living in Alberta will improve to levels commensurate with the general population. Perhaps, in time this will become a reality.

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GLOSSARY

Aggregate Income. The sum of the income of all income recipients in a household.

Crude dependency ratio. The number of assumed dependants (that is, persons under the age of 15 and over the age of 64) per 100 persons aged 15 to 64 (that is, the population considered to be economically active and independent). The age-specific dependency ratio is calculated as follows: $R = [\{(\text{persons} < 15) + (\text{persons } 65+)\} / (\text{persons } 15\text{-}64)] \times 100$ (Chawla, 1990:51-54).

Dependency ratio. see 'age-specific dependency ratio' and 'labour-market adjusted dependency ratio'.

Discouraged worker. People who want to work and yet are not job hunting because they believe suitable employment is not available (Akyeampong, 1989:64).

Economic family. A group of persons living in the same dwelling (and related by blood, marriage or adoption) (Oberle, 1993:iii).

Family income. Consists of money income received by all family members 15 years and over during a calendar year from wages and salaries (before deductions for taxes, social security, contributions, etc.), net income from farm and non-farm self-employment, investment income, government transfer payments, private pensions and other money income (Rashid, 1990:91).

Industry. The activity of the establishment in which an economically active person worked during the time reference period established for data on economic characteristics or last worked, if unemployed (Shryock and Siegal, 1976:193). Metis Settlement members and their dependents were classified by including all persons who held a paying job within the last five years.

Labour-market adjusted dependency ratio. This ratio shows the number of persons not employed per 100 employed persons. $R = [\{(\text{persons} < 15) + (\text{persons } 65+) + (\text{persons } 15\text{-}64 \text{ not employed})\} / (\text{employed persons } 15\text{-}64)] \times 100$ (Chawla, 1990: 51-54).

Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs). Low income cut-offs (LICOs) are income levels designed to identify the low income population. Families and unattached individuals with incomes uner the LICOs are deemed to have low incomes. The LICOs are set at the levesl where, on average, families spend a significantly higher proportion of their incomes on necessities than Canadian families as a whole. These cut-offs are defined for families, as opposed to persons, because income is assumed to be shared within families. Unless a person livies alone, his or her standard of living depends on how many other people live in the family and on their combined income. LICOs are at best only rough indicators of 'poverty', which is an imprecise and complex concept (Evans and Chawla, 1990: 33).

Median income. The median is the middle point at chich half the families have higher incomes, and half have lower incomes.

Metis. The word comes from the French meaning of 'simply mixed' (Redbird: 1980:1).

Occupation. The kind of work done during the time-reference period established for data on economic characteristics by the person employed (or performed previously by the unemployed) irrespective of the industry or the status (as employer, employee, etc.) in which the person should be classfied. (Shryock and Siegal, 1976:192). Metis Settlement members and their dependents were classified by including all persons who held a paying job within the last five years.

Scrip. A certificate issued to individual Metis redeemable for land or money (Bell, 1994:4).

Total income. Total income includes: employment income, investment income, transfer payments, RRSP income and other income (net rental income, alimony, inocme form a limited partnership, and other taxable income not mentioned above) (Statistics Canada, Aug. 14, 1996). This does not include non-monetary income such as trapping or fishing.

Transfer payments. include: benefits from private pensions, unemployment insurance, old age security and net federal supplements, Canada and Quebec pension plans, child tax benefits, Quebec family allowance, GST credit, workers' compensation, social assistance (old age and blind pensions, direct relief, social welfare assistance, and mothers' and disabled persons' allowances [such as AISH] and refundable provinical/territorial tax credits (Statistics Canada, Aug. 14,1996). Government transfer payments consist of cash benefits received by individuals and families under various federal, provincial and municipal income security programs (Rashid, 1990:51).

Unemployed. Persons who were without work during the reference week, who had looked for work in the past four weeks and who were available for work (Levesque, 1989:52 and Deveraux, 1992: 36).

Unemployment Insurance. Most who collect unemployment insurance benefits receive regular beneits. In order to qualify for regular benefits, a person must have experienced an interruption of eranings, be capable of and available for work, and be unable to find suitable employment. In addition to regular benefits, claimants can qualify for special benefits (for example, training, maternity, sickness and fishing benefits) (Statistics Canada, Aug.30, 1995).

APPENDIX 1:
METIS SETTLEMENTS CENSUS MEMBERSHIP AND RESIDENCY CATEGORIES

Metis Settlement Member with Permanent Residency: This person would fulfill the following characteristics: a) on Metis Settlements Membership Registry (or membership application is pending as per Settlement Administration or General Council), b) is a permanent resident on the Settlement, c) was enumerated in a household. These individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Metis Settlement Member who maintains residence on the Settlement: This person would fulfill the following characteristics: a) on Metis Settlements Membership Registry (or membership application is pending as per Settlement Administration or General Council), b) was enumerated in a household, c) is currently off of the Settlement, but maintains residence on the Settlement. Since this census was conducted in June, many seasonal construction workers or forest firefighters were temporarily working away from the settlement. These individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Metis Settlement Member on a Leave of Absence: This category includes those persons who: a) are on the Membership Registry, b) were reported by the household as on a leave of absence or a pending leave of absence; c) were enumerated in a household. The original enumeration strategy was to ask residents of the Settlements to answer all of the Census questions for family members who were officially on a Leave of Absence. However, only a small number of members on Leave of Absence were identified in this manner (44 members and 12 children of members). As a result, Census information about members on Leave of Absence (and their children) is far from complete, and therefore, is omitted from the data and tables for this thesis.

Non-Metis Spouse of Metis Settlement Member: These individuals were: a) not on the Membership Registry (and should not be), b) permanently living or maintaining residence on the Settlement, c) enumerated in a household, d) are either legally married or living common law with Metis Settlement Member who is a resident or maintaining residency, and, e) are non-Metis spouses. This category only includes non-Metis spouses who are ineligible for membership. An important note: all spouses who are on the Metis Settlement Membership Registry (either as their maiden name or married name) are listed under the Metis Settlement Member category, not as spouses of member. In addition, thirteen (13) widowers who were married to a member, but are not members themselves and still reside on the Settlement are included here. These individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Child of Metis Settlement Member: These persons are: a) not on the Membership Registry (and should not be because of age restrictions), b) permanently living or maintaining residence on a Settlement, c) enumerated in a household, d) also includes joint-custody with another parent. These individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Child of Metis Settlement Member who is on a Leave of Absence: These persons are: a) not on the Membership Registry (and should not be because of age restrictions), b reported by the household as on a leave of absence with a parent, c) enumerated in a household, d) also includes joint-custody with another parent. As with adult Members on a Leave of Absence, information about these children is far from complete, and therefore, is omitted from the data and tables for this thesis.

Non-Member who is Eligible for Metis Settlement Membership: An individual in this category would be: a) not on the Membership Registry, b) permanently living or maintaining residence on a Settlement, c) enumerated in a household, d) a young adult who has not yet applied for membership status after turning 18 years old or is has applied and is awaiting approval. These individuals would be eligible and would most likely be approved upon application of membership as per General Council. These individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Grandchildren, foster children, nieces and nephews of resident Metis Settlement Members: These individuals were: a) not on the Membership Registry (and should not be), b) permanently living or maintaining a residence on the Settlement, c) enumerated in a household. The majority in this category are grandchildren and from the information provided on the questionnaire, we were unable to discern if they were a child of a Member. A small number of foster children and nieces and nephews are also in this category. A distinct possibility is that these children are those of Metis Settlements Members who were living with grandparents or other relatives. However, we could not extrapolate that these children were most definitely eligible for membership as the origin of their parents were unknown on the questionnaire. This category also included guardianship and wards of the state children. Where information was provided, these individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Treaty Indian Resident: These persons were: a) not on the Membership Registry (and should not be); b) permanently living or maintaining a residence on the Settlement, and, c) enumerated in a household. The majority of these cases are children with a parent who has Treaty Indian Status (i.e., child of Treaty spouse of member and Metis Settlement Member, or Treaty Status foster child living with Metis parents) and from the information provided on the questionnaire, it is difficult to discern if they are eligible for Metis Membership Status. Where information was provided, these individuals are included in the data and tables for this thesis.

Non-Metis Settlement Member who is Ineligible for Membership: Individuals in this category were: a) not on the Membership Registry (and should not be), b) are living on the Settlement, c) were enumerated in a household. This category also includes a small number of cases of common-law and legally married partners of young adults who are currently Non-Members but are eligible to become members (i.e., these people could not yet be placed in the Spouse of Member category). During the Census, a total of 67 Settlement residents not eligible for membership (e.g., visitors, shopkeepers, health workers, teachers, nuns, priests) were enumerated. Enumerators had been instructed to collect only a minimal amount of information form such individuals. Hence, these 67 people are also no included in thesis data and tables. However, for the data containing household-level analysis (such as number of persons per household, toilet facilities, etc.) these residents were included in the calculations.

Miscellaneous Categories (4) NOT included in the Census enumeration or final count: 1. Those persons who were: a) not enumerated, b) on the Membership Registry and on the Leave of Absence list provided by the Settlement Administration. They were not included for reasons listed in the Leave of Absence category.

2. Those individuals who were: a) not enumerated, b) on the Membership Registry, c) not on the Leave of Absence list provided by the Settlement Administration BUT identified by some Settlement Administration and Enumerators as being on a Leave of Absence.

3. Persons who were: a) not enumerated, b) on the Membership Registry, c) not on the Leave of Absence list provided by the Settlement Administration, but d) identified by some Settlement Administration or Enumerators as being in the hospital or incarcerated.

4. Finally, the people in the last category were: a) not enumerated, b) on Membership Registry, c) not on the Leave of Absence list provided by Settlement Administration, and d) identified by Settlement Administration and Enumerators as being permanently absent. Included in this category were some deceased individuals who had not yet been removed from the Membership Registry or those who had departed from the Settlement and had not returned (and were not expected to return - whereabouts unknown).

APPENDIX 2:

1995 METIS SETTLEMENTS CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE